A STRATEGIC APPROACH TO OCCUPATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AMONGST ARCHITECTS.

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Summary (contd.)

setting the terms of exchange of skills for control status and economic rewards, terms such as profession, professionalism and professionalization are used by occupational activists for their own ends and yet have their own constraining logic.

Summary (contd.)

Similarly, it would have been unable to account for the emergence of a strategy of unionisation. This strategic activity occurred within a market and work situation unique to architects as a whole and differing in crucial respects for various sub-groupings. Sharing different experiences, groups of activists emerged offering different legitimations for their strategies and appealing to different reference groups. An emergent managerial elite superseded the traditional elite of private practitioners, subsuming, in the process, the class oriented strategies of their salaried subordinates under their own status oriented policies. As subsequent government policy demonstrated, and a small sample survey of private practice illustrated, policy formulation may be considerably simpler than implementation, hedged around as it will be by constraints arising within and without the occupation.

In short, occupational strategies are not seen merely as determined by certain institutions defined by sociologists as structural conditions. Rather, strategies are developed within an institutional framework which is constantly modified by action, in an on-going process in which actors' experiences, their legitimations and their evaluations are intricately related. These actors' understanding of everyday reality is mediated by their past experiences and to a lesser extent by their anticipated experiences. Their willingness to take certain courses of action is further influenced by available legitimations together with their assessment of the likely success or failure of a particular course of action. Such assessments are based on feedback from several sources: from previous occupational strategies, the strategies of other reference occupations and even from sociologists' own analyses. The dialectical quality of these processes, to use Berger and Luckmann's paradigm, renders the conventional sociological model inadequate and yet transcends the "mere" actors' model. In the political process of claim and counter-claim, in

SUMMARY

Professionalization, "the process by which an occupation undergoes transformation to become a profession ..... by assuming the structural features of established and acknowledged professions", emerged from the literature as a unidirectional process in which the achievement of historically specific and theoretically predetermined "traits" or "stages" brought higher levels of control, status and economic reward. By examining the recent history of an occupation, both commonly regarded as, and regarding itself as, a profession, and appearing very similar to the ideal typical model of a profession, I wished to challenge this theoretical straight-jacket.

So called inevitable and unchanging "traits" came to appear more as strategies adapted, abandoned or even superseded in the pursuit of the underlying goals of control, status and economic reward. The range of strategies pursued in the name of an occupation is not limited by what is functionally necessary to maintain the institutional complex, rather the limits are set by the general historical situation of the occupation as viewed from the perspective of the occupational activists. The institutional setting of an occupation, along with its internal differentiation and the strategic initiatives which ~~it~~ they mediates had been neglected in the general literature on professions, and had been done less than justice by Kaye in his study of the development of professional institutions amongst architects in the nineteenth century. A small historical case study of an educational issue of the period, with all its limitations, confirmed that my strategic approach made salient aspects of internal differentiation and strategy formation which Kaye neglected.

The conventional professionalization model could not have predicted the development and co-existence of a traditional educational strategy alongside a strategy of management, totally new to architects, as to all professions, at this period, of the late 1950's early 1960's.

To a professional
both critical and jealous of professional standards
without whose encouragement
this research might not have been begun
let alone completed,
my husband.

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Preface - the development of the critique

The original concern of this research was to re-examine a concept widely used in studies of occupations, "the process of professionalization". (1) Professionalization, "the process by which an occupation undergoes transformation to become a profession..... by assuming the structural features of established and acknowledged professional associations," (2) emerged from the literature as a unidirectional process in which the achievement of historically specific and theoretically predetermined "traits" or "stages" brought higher levels of prestige, control and economic reward. By examining the recent history of an occupation both commonly regarded as, and regarding itself as, a profession, and appearing very similar to the ideal typical model of a profession, I wished to challenge this theoretical straight-jacket.

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(1) The general assumption in the literature has been that professionalization is a uni-linear process, although in 1962 Strauss and Rainwater were arguing that it could best be seen in terms of, "at least three streams, namely, the mediaeval origin of certain classical professions, the later and continuing movement of lower-order occupations into professional status, and the relatively recent emergence of scientific disciplines to professional stature". (A. Strauss and L. Rainwater. The Professional Scientist. Aldine Pub. Co., Chicago, 1962, p. 228). Like other criticisms of the model it was not taken up seriously for about a decade. See below p. 5.

(2) G. Millerson. The Qualifying Associations. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964, p. 10.
Johnson has recently outlined a number of ways in which the term professionalization has been used in the literature. My interest lies in the third of his usages which sees it "as a much more complex process in which an occupation comes to exhibit a number of attributes which are 'essentially' professional and are said to be the core elements of professionalism." T.J. Johnson, Professions and Power. Macmillan, London 1972, p. 21-22.

Initially the focus remained on a linear process, examining the possibility of "de-professionalization", a decline rather than an increase in control status, and economic reward. So called inevitable and unchanging "traits" came to appear more as strategies adapted, abandoned or even superseded in the pursuit of these underlying goals. In some cases the initiative for the strategies came from the occupations themselves, as in the case of architects. But such initiatives seemed rare compared with the modification of conventionally established professional traits (e.g. individual autonomy) deriving from the organisational context of work, which Wilensky and others had pointed to. (1) Of particular significance during the period in which this research has been in progress has been the threat to certain occupations' autonomy by such quasi-government agencies as the late Prices and Incomes Board and by the Monopolies Commission, which have questioned their control over their "work" and "market" situations. (2)

From dissatisfaction with the traditional uni-linear model of professionalization emerged a strategic model of professional, or rather occupational, action. The range of professional institutions conventionally examined by sociologists - of which occupational associations, ethical codes and educational institutions are merely the most frequently referred to - are perceived as strategies which may be modified or added to in the pursuit of control, status and economic rewards. I would argue that the range of strategies pursued in the name of an occupation is not limited by what is functionally necessary to maintain the institutional complex, explicit or implicit in many of the studies of occupations seeking to don the professional mantle.

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(1) A typical example, is Kornhauser's discussion of scientists. W. Kornhauser. Scientists in industry: conflict and accommodation. University of California Press, Berkeley 1963.

(2) See below Chp. V p. 184.

Rather that the limits are set by the general historical situation of the occupation as viewed from the perspective of the occupational activists. Activists in occupations conventionally regarded as professions (or aspiring professions) have usually been seen as displaying a "status" as distinct from a "class" orientation, using Prandy's terminology. (1) But, even if actors' orientations or perspectives do remain constant - and this is an empirical question - the assessment of the likely success or failure of strategies and the terms in which they are legitimated, may well change.

Although the sociologists' ideal type models seemed increasingly irrelevant, there was no doubt that many occupations were using a rhetoric of professionalism to define which type of strategies were appropriate in the struggle to secure work, market and status. (2) The irony was that this rhetoric was derived increasingly from sociologists' own models. It has often been suggested by sociologists that a key feature in defining an occupation as a profession is the theoretical backing to a practical skill. (3) But it seems probable, in the case of many aspirants, that the concern with a body of knowledge derives from their status claims - and these sociologically informed - rather than defines the population of such claimants.

However one formulates a new approach to this area of sociological analysis, however one spells out the implications of a strategic model to institutions conventionally labelled professional traits, I would argue that it is vital to recognise this relationship between actors' and sociologists' models.

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(1) K. Prandy, Professional Employees, Faber & Faber, 1964.

(2) This categorisation is based on David Lockwood's, see below p. 25.

(3) cf. W. Goode, see Appendix I for his defining criteria.

The dialectical quality of these processes, to use Berger and Luckmann's paradigm, renders the conventional sociological approach inadequate and yet transcends the 'mere' actors' model. (1) In the political process of claim and counter claim, in setting the terms of exchange of skills for control, status and economic rewards, terms such as profession, professionalism and professionalization, are used by occupational activists for their own ends and yet have their own constraining logic.

In specific terms, no new model can consist of a mere typology of professional strategies as distinct from non-professional strategies, on the same lines as the conventional typology of professional traits. It would be similarly a-historical, with all its inherent defects. The changing structural context, the changing market and work situations of an occupation would again be missed. Yet analysis in terms of work and market situation alone is not sufficient, for, I would argue from my empirical analysis, that it is the actors' orientations - world views, images, meanings - which are equally significant. It is in this context that I see the answer to the question that inexorably arose once it became impossible to distinguish a given set of institutions or strategies by which to define a profession, or professionalism, namely, the question as to what sociological meaning is left to the term profession? And the answer seems to relate to the patterning which arises from profession being an "objectified category", emerging in dialectical fashion, from its use in political processes by various groups of actors.

Taking these comments as a starting point, this study falls into three sections. The first two chapters contain the nub of the theoretical argument; the first chapter is concerned with the extent to which this traditional model has blinded researchers to such salient aspects as the structural context of an occupation and the role of occupational activists. In the second chapter, I put

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(1) P.L. Berger and T. Luckmann. The Social Construction of Reality. Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1967.

forward my strategic approach to the development of occupational institutions. I examine the only other study of the development of these institutions amongst architects in the third chapter, and argue that my strategic framework makes salient aspects that Kaye's twofold theoretical analysis (a functional analysis in association with analysis in terms of two conflicting legitimations or "viewpoints") underplays or even neglects. In particular he neglects the significance of internal occupational differentiation and the use of external reference groups as means of strategy formation and legitimation.

The bulk of the empirical work is presented in the last two chapters, combining document studies and interviews with key respondents with the results of a small sample survey of private architectural practice. In the first of these two chapters, the challenges to the established elite of private practitioners emerge through a policy counter-definition from senior government architects and the upsurge of discontent amongst salaried staff. Dominated by senior government architects, the emerging managerial elite offers its definition of the problems of the profession. This supersedes the sectional definition and class oriented strategies of their subordinates. In the final chapter the development of the emergent elite's strategy is interwoven with its take over of the professional association. Having achieved positions of power, the new elite's main problems are to legitimate its policies and find means of implementing them at the grass roots.

Acknowledgements

At this point it seems traditional strategy for authors to acknowledge a variety of sources of help and stimulation - I feel under no pressure to develop any new strategy. Indeed, I have to acknowledge a wide variety of sources of aid and encouragement, without which this research into an occupation entirely new to me at the beginning of the study would not have been possible. It has been particularly stimulating, apart from its significance sociologically, that as a grouping architects seem particularly selfconscious about the nature and conditions of their work and very articulate. Although informal contacts at all levels played an invaluable part in providing background material, it is to those approached in a more formal capacity that my chief thanks lie. The continuous help and interest of the staff of the R.I.B.A. must first be mentioned and in particular the staff of the then Research and Statistics Department.

I should also like to acknowledge permission to reproduce the R.I.B.A.'s statistics on the new commissions entering private practice, which are to be found in Appendix X.

Closer to home, the Director and staff of the Architecture Research Unit provided me with unique opportunities to acquire information on all manner of topics. Also in Edinburgh I must thank the staff of the two Architecture Schools, who gave their own and some of their students' time, and also allowed me to participate in a course for the third part of the Professional Examination. Regional and local officials of the profession were also most helpful in fulfilling my requests for information.

However, my particular thanks are due to those architects whom I have labelled "key respondents" and to the partners in private practice who gave of their own and also their staff's time. Without their participation and help this study might have turned out an armchair exercise.

I should particularly like to thank my supervisor, and other members of staff of the Sociology Department, on whom I depended /

Acknowledgements (contd.)

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CHAPTER I

A Reconsideration of the Literature.

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CHAPTER I

(i) Introduction

Professionalization, "the process by which an occupation undergoes a transformation to become a profession..... By assuming the structural features of established and acknowledged professional associations.....," (1) pervaded the literature when this research began. Built in to this model of collective occupational mobility was an assumption of uni-directionality; an assumption that all aspiring occupations would, if only they could find the correct formula, achieve "that esteem, that broad licence to control their work and that social mandate over affairs pertaining to it that the term profession connotes." (2) Since the preconditions of progress, historical, structural or ideological were never spelled out, it was some time before it was conceded that some occupations might never reach the heights - hence the title of Etzioni's reader in 1969, "The Semi-professions and their organisation" - while the possibility of decline in status, control or economic reward was merely referred to in passing. (3)

Initial empirical observations suggested that architects, seeing themselves and being seen by others as professionals, might prove an interesting case. Having developed most of the conventional "traits" over the previous hundred years, they seemed prepared to adapt some of these institutions and even initiate new ones, in order to ensure a greater measure of control, status and economic reward which they felt was eluding them.

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(1) Millerson op. cit.

(2) E.C. Hughes, Men and Their Work, Free Press Glencoe; Illinois, 1958, p. 45.

(3) A. Etzioni (ed), The Semi-Professions and their organisation, Free Press, New York, 1969.

Some sociologists had pointed out such defects in the model as the neglect of the structural context of an occupation and of the role of occupational actors in the development of conventional professional traits. (1) Yet they themselves, and subsequent researchers, seemed unwilling, or indeed unable, to unfetter themselves from this all embracing model. This resilience of the professionalization model seemed to arise both from its theoretical and empirical flexibility and also from its definition as irrelevant to the model factors, such as structural context, which would have constituted a fundamental challenge.

Thus the original concern of this research was to question the assumption, central to the professionalization model, that the development of key "traits" or "stages" would inevitably bring increments of control, status and economic reward. There had been some discussion in the literature of occupations being "blocked", or "marking time", and the odd reference to decline in status. (2) But there had been no systematic

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(1) W. Goode and Wilensky in particular, see below p. 5. I am not here attempting a full scale critique of professionalization models, as this has been done very adequately by Johnson in a recent publication. (op. cit.) I plan to lay particular emphasis on elements neglected in earlier studies and on the basis of which I hope to reassemble a strategic model of occupational action. I will use the term "conventional professional traits" to refer to those used in the sociological literature. For problems relating to the precise definition of such traits see below, p. 6.

(2) See below p. 5 and pp. 15-16.

consideration of the possibility of "de-professionalization", either in the limited sense of the dismantling of conventional professional institutions or in the wider sense of a decline in control status or economic rewards. (1)

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(1) "De-professionalization" was used by Vollmer & Mills, see below p. 15. (H.M. Vollmer & D.L. Mills. Professionalization. Prentice Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1966.) This chapter is based on American studies, as there seems to have been very little interest in Britain in this area, and those studies that did emerge seem to have developed largely independently of the American scene. The only two studies of the mid 1960's in Britain reverted to the played out structural tradition of the pre war years rather than pursuing the insights of the immediate post war occupational histories. Thus, Millerson expended great effort in examining the structure and functions of professional associations and itemising a wide range of traits used to delineate different models of profession. (op. cit. 1964). And this classification was subsequently taken up by Hickson and Thomas using certain statistical techniques in a rather sterile attempt to demonstrate that these characteristics were in fact linked empirically. (D.J. Hickson and M.W. Thomas, "Professionalization in Britain: A Preliminary Measurement": Sociology, 3 no. 1 1969, p. 37-55). Unfortunately, they were not able to operationalise definitions of skill based on theoretical knowledge, or altruistic service, which many writers have seen as key to the process! They were only able to link their scores to the age of the occupation rather than to such key institutions as private practice. The historical evidence that studies of nurses, school teachers and architects provided of complex processes of inter- and intra-occupational struggles, to influence the development of so called inevitable and unchanging traits, was entirely neglected. This may be accounted for by the a-theoretical character of Abel Smith's study of nurses and Tropp's history of the primary school teachers and the very weak theoretical backing to Kaye's study of architects which will be examined in more detail in Chapter III.

B. Abel Smith. A History of the nursing profession. (William Heinemann Ltd. London, 1960)

A. Tropp. The School Teachers: the growth of the teaching profession in England and Wales from 1800 to the present day. (William Heinemann Ltd., London 1957).

B. Kaye. The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A sociological study. (George Allan & Unwin Ltd., 1960).

Although the initial problem seemed relatively straightforward, i.e. the need to move beyond the uni-directional model of professionalization, the more I examined the reasons for the bias towards a uni-directional model, the more the central ideal type notion of profession came under suspicion. And once the ideal type model of profession became suspect, the question inevitably arose as to why a mere extension of a linear process model, to incorporate backward as well as forward movement, should be adequate to deal with occupational processes. Put another way, if the cornerstone of the linear model, the ideal type of profession, was seen to be defective, would the whole range of concepts, profession, professionalism as well as professionalization have to be abandoned and, if so, what was to be put in their place? (1)

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(1) This will be expanded at the end of the chapter.

(ii) My initial definition of the problem - questioning the uni-directional assumption.

While few sociologists were ever quite so explicit as Caplow, who declared that, "The steps involved in professionalization are quite definite and even the sequence is explicit...", the pervasive assumption of uni-directionality was very evident in the literature. (1) Yet, Vollmer and Mills, in the first reader on "Professionalization", were moved to write, "We assume, but we really don't know that much of professionalization is inevitable in modern society." (2) Although a few researchers pointed out some deficiencies of the professionalization model and suggested intermediate possibilities such as "incomplete professionalization", I have found only one study of "recession" which fulfils Vollmer and Mills' call for a search for possible instances of "de-professionalization". (3) However, Vollmer and Mills never make it clear whether they are referring merely to the dismantling of some set of conventional professional traits or whether they are thinking of wider processes of decline in occupational control, status and economic reward. Spurred on by empirical hints of both such processes, I scanned the literature for evidence of similar processes and a theoretical framework within which to deal with them.

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(1) Caplow, The Sociology of Work, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1959, p. 139.

(2) Vollmer and Mills op. cit. p. 45.

(3) Goode used the term "incomplete professionalization" in connection with the mobility chances of Librarians (see below p. 7, footnote (1).) It was also used by Denzin in a rather muddled study of Pharmacists. (Norman K. Denzin, "Incomplete professionalization; the case of pharmacy", Social Forces, vol. 46, 1967-8, p. 375-81.) Pharmacists are also discussed in another study on similar lines quoted by Denzin, "Limited, marginal and quasi practitioners" by Wardwell (in H.E. Freeman, et. al. (ed) Handbook of Medical Sociology. Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1963). Although Wardell introduces factors to explain why a number of specialities remain marginal, relative to the central position of the medical profession, he does so in a rather unsystematic and descriptive fashion. For the study of "recession" cf. Philip Abrams. "The Late Profession of Arms: Ambiguous goals and deteriorating means in Great Britain". Archieves Européennes de Sociologie: vi, 1965, pp. 238-61. See below p. 15-16.

(iii) Potentially fruitful lines of criticism undeveloped.

Looking back at the literature on professions with a sceptical eye, it is the treatment of the sociological model of profession as unproblematic which becomes remarkable. (1) As far back as 1961, Bucher and Strauss criticised the "sociology of the professions" for concentrating on, "the mechanics of cohesiveness and upon detailing the social structure (and/or social organisation) of given professions". (2) They were explicitly critical of the functionalist approach characterised by Goode's early paper, "Community within a community; the professions". (3)

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(1) It is important to be clear at this stage of the precise link up between the concepts of profession and professionalization. Vollmer and Mills' suggestion, "that the concept of a profession be applied to an abstract model of occupational organisation, and that the concept of "professionalization" be used to refer to the dynamic process whereby many occupations can be observed to change certain crucial characteristics in the direction of a profession", (op. cit. p. 7-8) seems to meet with general support in the literature. Although it is not relevant to go into the "characteristics" or "traits", for the reasons given on p. 19, the abstract model of profession towards which all aspiring occupations are held to be progressing, and against which they are to be assessed, is not as straightforward as is sometimes assumed. As Johnson has recently pointed out, a variety of researchers have put forward their own definitive characteristics, and "the result has been a confusion so profound that there is even disagreement about the existence of confusion". (op. cit. p. 23-24. Goode evidently concluded that there was "commendable unanimity" between definitions while Millerson, after an even more exhaustive cataloguing of traits than Goode, came to the opposite conclusion!) I will be arguing that the fundamental criticisms that Goode and Wilensky put forward of professionalization inevitably implicate the ideal type model of profession. See below p. 8-11.

(2) R. Bucher & A. Strauss, "Professions in process". A.J.S., Vol. 66, no. 9, p. 325-334.

(3) W.J. Goode, "Community within a community: the Professions". A.S.R. 20, 1957, p. 194-200.

But, by the time Bucher and Strauss were offering their alternative process approach of intra-occupational conflict arising from segmentation, Goode himself had developed some highly significant new themes, questioning the notion of inevitable stages of professionalization and pointing to the part played by occupational activists. (1) Yet he, like Wilensky, who only a few years later warned that the organisational and institutional contexts of many occupations would prevent, "the professionalization of everyone", seemed 'hooked' on the traditional notions of profession and professionalism. (2)

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(1) W.J. Goode, "The Librarian, from occupation to profession?" The Library Quarterly, 31, No. 4, October 1961. See below p. 8-11.

(2) H.L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?", A.J.S. vol. 70, 1964-5, p. 146. See below p. 8-11. Only Bucher and Strauss and their subsequent associates remained consistently outside this tradition, moving from the discussion of competing occupational segments to the examination of work contexts as "arenas" in which those holding different skills competed. A. Strauss et. al. Psychiatric Ideologies and Institutions. Free Press, Glencoe, 1964.

Structural context and the role of occupational activists - crucial factors raised and yet left unexplored.

Having outlined a descriptive type sequential model of professionalization, Wilensky then limited its implication by suggesting that, "The tactical or strategic situation of an occupation, old or new, may demand early licensure or certification whatever the actual level of development of the techniques, training or association". (1) Barriers to professionalization, in the form of new and larger organisational contexts are emerging, he argued, to prevent "the professionalization of everyone". Although some occupations have obtained for themselves "extraordinary autonomy", "One might argue that such control as these professions have exercised will decline or at least that very few occupations will acquire the label 'established'." (2)

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(1) Wilensky, op. cit. p. 145. For Wilensky's actual sequence see Appendix I.
It is rather interesting to note that in Caplow's model, an ideal type sequential model, the step by step ordered attainment of more and more professional characteristics appears too restricted and his fourth step spilled over. (The earlier steps proceeded from the initial development of a professional association through the creation and monopolization of a new title, to the development of a code of ethics). Not only did it include the usual enumerations of institutional characteristics - the development of training facilities (placed later than Wilensky - the only important difference in the content of their models) and the development of rules of decorum - but it ended with a tantalising glimpse of underlying processes of conflict, "the establishment - after conflict - of working relations with related professional groups." op. cit. 139-40. See Appendix I.

(2) Wilensky op. cit. p. 146.

Goode also referred to the significance of structural context in trying to assess the future mobility chances of librarians, but, in a far less systematic fashion. Referring to the potential rather than the limitations of structural context, he pointed out that, the "librarians are not subordinate to any other group in the situs or organisation" and "the librarian has no competitors." (1) Equally fleetingly - and tantalizingly - Goode referred to the importance of occupational activists in selecting occupational strategies. In a telling critique of sequential trait models, he argued,

> "All those (sequences) which have been noted in the literature take place simultaneously. Or phrased differently, the elite members of all high ranking occupations seem to know what to do, and try all the moves they can accomplish..... since, however, the efficacy of any one of these is dependent on how much the others realistically reflect the occupation's social position none is unequivocally required before all others. Hundreds of codes of ethics have been written, for instance, but few occupations are sufficiently integrated to compel their members to obey these rules..... Such actions may be viewed as 'steps', but often may be more profitably viewed as 'testing operations' - if they are accepted and supported by the public or relevant publics, then the occupation has indeed progressed; otherwise not." (2)

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(1) Goode op. cit. 1961 (Quoted Vollmer & Mills, p. 38.) Goode's most forceful reference to structural context, namely, "There seems to be no examples of professions that lost status, because their structural position permits them to absorb, dominate or supplant any relevant knowledge and skills that may threaten their standing" seems a particularly unfortunate generalisation, based as it is on empirical evidence from the medical field only. (Goode op. cit. 1961, Quoted Vollmer & Mills, p. 37). Wilensky confirms the importance of the established position of the medical profession in the medical field, "It seems clear that ancilliary medical occupations will arrive at the autonomy befitting professional status only at the expense of control now in the hands of physicians and board members who will not readily yield it up". (H. Wilensky, op. cit. 1964, p. 156). The other occupations may be said to be structurally blocked.

(2) Goode op. cit. 1961 (quoted in Vollmer & Mills p. 37).

So, besides suggesting the almost completely neglected actor dimension, he refers to the likely success or failure of their moves in terms of the occupation's "social position".

But, having introduced these potentially fruitful, indeed I will argue, potentially central, notions of structural context and the role of occupational activists, they both fell back on the traditional professional model. Goode reverted time after time to examining the "generating traits" of professionalism - librarians, he predicted, would only achieve "incomplete professionalization" because of the absence of his two generating traits, a body of knowledge and a service orientation - while Wilensky turned round and described as "deviance" processes that diverged from those of the "established professions". (1)

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(1) Goode & Wilensky op. cit.

(iv) Why was the professionalization model so resilient?

In spite of these defects, and Goode and Wilensky's commentary on them, the professionalization model carried the day, for most researchers, for the best part of a decade. Why was the model so resilient? Firstly, it seems clear that since structural context and the role of occupational activists were defined as irrelevant in terms of the model, the theoretical and empirical challenges they raised for the model were less likely to be perceived by researchers. But, on the positive side, the model was extremely versatile both theoretically and empirically. And, besides this open endedness, it also seems to have been sustained by a misuse of the ideal type model, whereby any unexpected data - in terms of the model - was relegated to the status of a deviant case.

The theoretical and empirical versatility of the professionalization model.

Hughes' influential conversion from, "the false question, 'is this occupation a profession?' to a more fundamental one, 'what are the circumstances in which the people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves into professional people?' and 'what are the steps by which they attempt to bring about identification with their valued model?'" is almost too well known to bear quoting. (1) Undoubtedly, his change of interest was very influential in reorienting the sociological study of "professions".

(1) E.C. Hughes. (op. cit. 1958, p. 45, Men and their Work. Free Press Illinois). As head of a large Department, well known for his interest in occupational studies, he was in a strong position to encourage a change of emphasis in the study of professions. Although the paper in which the quotation appears was published in his book, "Men and their Work" in 1958, the paper itself seems to have been delivered originally some seven years earlier.

There is a tendency now to impose some order on the theoretical literature by referring to earlier models as functionalist or trait models, with the proviso that there is a considerable degree of overlap. (1) But such theoretical umbrellas are intended to cover - amongst many others - studies as diverse as Goode's on professional communities and Parson's analysis of the professional-client relationship within the functionalist spectrum, and Goode's subsequent analysis of generating/secondary traits, Caplow and Wilensky's sequential models of professionalization and Moore's scale of professionalism - all largely within the spectrum of trait theory. (2)

The variety of theoretical schemas was not the only variety with which the process of professionalization could cope. The professionalization model could also explicitly incorporate a wide range of empirical situations. If an occupation did not currently display all or some of the critical traits by which it could be distinguished as a profession sociologically, it could be argued that it was involved in a process during which they would be achieved inevitably - sooner or later. Thus Greenwood, for example, was to argue that, "Any traits used in the definition of the term 'profession' must be conceived as a variable, forming a continuum along which a given occupation may move." (3)

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(1) Johnson op. cit. p. 23.

(2) Goode op. cit. 1957.
T. Parsons. The Social System. The Free Press Glencoe 1952, and more generally "The Professions and Social Structure" in Essays in Sociological Theory. The Free Press, New York, 1949, 1954.
Goode op. cit. 1961 and a more recent paper. "The theoretical limits of professionalization". In A. Etzioni (ed.) The Semi-Professions and their organisation. The Free Press, New York 1969, pp. 266-315.
T. Caplow op. cit.
Wilensky op. cit. (See Appendix I for the list of steps).
Wilbert E. Moore, (in collaboration with G.W. Rosenblum), The Professions: roles and rules, Russel Sage Foundation, New York, 1970.
The chapter on "the professionalization of occupations" in the book is written by Gerald Rosenblum "supplemented in a modest degree by Moore", op. cit. p. 51.

(3) E. Greenwood. "Attributes of a profession", Social Work, 2, no. 3, 1957, pp. 44-55.

In short, the sociological "model" of professionalization could almost, it seems, mean all things to all men, in the sense of encompassing a variety of theoretical formulations and empirical situations. It is scarcely surprising, then, to find Turner & Hodge commenting, rather plaintively, in 1969, "It is not always obvious how the profession model is related to the process being studied."! (1)

Association with a powerful actors' model.

Having indicated the theoretical and empirical lure of this model for the researcher, it must be pointed out that a great deal of its power arises from its association with a particularly well established actors' model. (2) Notions of profession, professional, professionalism are constantly used by occupational actors in defining their experiences in relating to fellow professionals and to non-professionals, both individually and collectively.

Examined historically, the sociological use of the term profession was in fact derived from actors' usage. Carr-Saunders and Wilson's development of a descriptive typology of professions was the one element in their wider approach which had particular influence on subsequent researchers. (3)

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(1) C. Turner and M.N. Hodge, Occupations and Professions in J.A. Jackson (ed.) Professions and Professionalization. Sociological Studies iii. Cambridge University Press 1970 p. 24.

(2) I refer to the "association" of the professionalization model with actors' models because the notion of process of professionalization itself seems to have moved in the opposite direction, being one of those notions fed back from sociologists' models to actors. See below p. 23.

(3) Sir A. Carr-Saunders & P.A. Wilson, The Professions. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1933.

Subsequently there was a tendency for descriptive typologies to be superseded by the more sophisticated, or at least more abstract, ideal type models. (1) However, the ideal type model, in encouraging the researcher to combine both conceptual and empirical elements, merely assisted in confounding sociologists' abstracted conceptualizations with actors' definitions. (2)

In the development of my own critique, attempts to pin-point conceptual deficiences, particularly in the earlier trait models, were constantly bedevilled by the resurgence of the actors' model. In the first instance, actors' definitions of their situation, in both normative and cognitive terms, had been incorporated into models purporting to be sociologists' structural interpretations. But, subsequently, when I attempted to reformulate the older structural type model, still leaving aside actors' definitions, these very actors' definitions would not be excluded and yet leave a satisfactory sociological explanation. It was in working through these problems that I started to work within a dialectical framework, seeing definitions such as profession and professionalism as created and chosen by actors and yet coming to have their own objectivity and constraining logic. But this is to anticipate the discussion. At this point I wish to point out that the misuse of ideal type analysis contributed to the persistence of the models of profession and professionalization.

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(1) There are critical differences in the ideal type and the descriptive type models. Using Carr-Saunders and Wilson's work as an example of descriptive type analysis, their method was to take occupations currently accorded the prestigeous label of "profession". Having described the history and current structure of such labelled occupations, they built up a list of characteristics common to all such groupings. Thus, they emerged with a series of characteristics of a profession; the establishment of minimum fees or salaries; the development of a professional association; the formulation of codes of professional ethics; the establishment and enforcement of minimum entry qualifications. On the other hand ideal type analysis starts from a series of key criteria, established a priori as significant in terms of theoretical notions of professions, rather than from popularly defined occupations. Each occupation, in turn, is then held up and compared with the ideal type of profession, and its logically circumscribed characteristics, and allotted its place on a continuum depending on exhibition of the key characteristics.

(2) See below p. 15 for a definition by Weber himself of the ideal type.

The misleading use of the ideal type model.

It is not my intention here to launch into a methodological critique of ideal type analysis, although its status does seem to be fraught with problems, not the least of which is its combination of inductive and deductive elements. (1) Here my main point is that the way they have been used in the conventional studies of professions has biased researchers into seeing discrepant empirical evidence as merely deviant and requiring no further explanation. This is particularly obvious in the only study which I have found that went further than Goode's notion of "incomplete professionalization" in the direction of a notion of "de-professionalization" and talked of "recession". (2)

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(1) In Weber's own terms, "An ideal type is formed by the one sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one sided viewpoints into a unified analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found anywhere in reality". (M. Weber, quoted D. Martindale. "Sociological Theory and the Ideal Type", in L. Gross (ed.) Symposium on Sociological Theory. Harper & Row, New York, 1959 p. 68.) In other words, it contains both conceptual and empirical elements selected on the basis of the researcher's model of social reality. Martindale himself points towards this problem, discussing the strengths and weaknesses of ideal types, "In areas where quantification is incomplete and adequate methodological models are, as yet, unavailable and where one, on the other hand , is not able to experiment there is no choice but to find a basis on which one can compare cases. It goes without saying that if one's comparison is between some actual state of affairs and the type, about all that can be predicted is nonsense. Rather one compares two or more states of affairs. The function of the ideal type is to isolate the factors on which the comparison becomes critical. The degree to which the relations involved in the type are intuitive seriously curtails the extent to which one can generalise on the basis of them." Ibid. p. 87.

(2) Goode, op. cit.

In a paper evocatively entitled, "The late profession of arms; Ambiguous goals and deteriorating means in Great Britain", Abrams' produced a study as unique in its empirical insight as it was conventional in its use of the ideal type. (1) Using Barber's fourfold trait classification he compared changes over time in the armed forces with particular emphasis on the change in knowledge base. At an earlier period the armed forces were seen as approaching the ideal type, while recent developments were explained as modification of the essential professional traits and hence a "recession" from an earlier position.

> "New knowledge may either be appropriated by an existing profession or it may give rise to an emerging one. Professions with old established and relatively out of date knowledge must compete or come to terms with emerging professions possessing knowledge of high contemporary relevance. The armed forces have since 1945 been forced into just such competition. And in Britain the terms of this competition are such that recession seems the most probable fate for the profession of arms." (2)

But having argued his case in terms of the limited traits of Barber's ideal type model, Abrams then continued, as do so many conventional studies of professions, to discuss more wide-ranging questions emerging from the empirical data. He discussed problems of the changing goals set for the armed services, of the changes in recruitment patterns to the officer cadre, both giving rise to institutional patterns which are not often thought of as key "traits" in the ideal type model.

Thus, Abrams' study raised the possibility of loss rather than achievement of professional position, and the modification of certain conventional professional traits. But, it is not quite clear what this implies in terms of loss of control, status and economic rewards, for it has still been set in the context of a limited set of traits. The traits have been considered in the light of certain changes in the situation of the armed forces - which is unusual in itself. But, the full force of Abrams' insight is lost in the overriding implication that it is a case study which merely deviates from the ideal type model.

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(1) Abrams' op. cit.

(2) Abrams' op. cit. p. 240.

(v) Breakthrough

I have tried to suggest why the complete breakaway from the traditional models of profession and professionalization was so protracted. I, myself, started with only a partial critique of the model, (of the assumption of uni-directionality) as had many others before me. However, working through the period covering the end of 1960's and early 1970's, I have not been alone in developing the critique further.

In 1969 Turner and Hodge produced a paper ~~in~~ which ~~they~~ purported to replace the traditional analysis of professions with a resource management approach to occupations in general. (1) But having implied that an actor orientation might be incorporated, the way in which they operationalise their theoretical questions becomes disappointingly traditional. (2) Johnson's recent study of professionalism has already been referred to in other contexts. (3) His analysis is very much

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(1) Turner & Hodge op. cit.

(2) The necessary question about the substantive base of the occupation is turned into a traditional question of "the degree of substantive theory and technique in the practising of professional activities"; the relationship of the substantive bases of various professions becomes the question of the degree of monopoly over claimed professional activities. Their new question of "What are the major categories of persons involved in the management and control of substantive resources" is diffused in a third main area of analysis - the degree of external recognition of a profession. And similarly the question, "What means of management and control are used by different categories of interested parties?" merely becomes "the degree of organisation of a profession".

(3) See above p. 1 and p. 2.

in terms of the implications of certain structural conditions for the development of different types of control, with no attempt to incorporate the role of occupational actors. The following quotation from Johnson's book illustrates my point about his primary concern with structural conditions, while at the same time indicating his awareness of a researchable area.

> "However, professionalism is a successful ideology and as such has entered the political vocabulary of a wide range of occupational groups who compete for status and income - the latter has become much more manifest a process under various forms of incomes policy. As a result, the social functions of the ideology and the attraction of the 'professional model' for emerging occupational groups is a significant empirical problem and is worthy of attention. What must be borne in mind is that the ideology is espoused, either wholly or piecemeal, by occupational groups who have not achieved and are unlikely to achieve control over their own occupational activities. This is not because, as frustrated social workers are sometimes convinced, the leadership pursues misguided tactics, but because there existø external conditions which are antithetical to the development of the form of institutionalised control under which the occupation is paramount and autonomous." (1)

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(1) Johnson op. cit. p. 32.

(vi) What are we left with? My position

My own questioning of the uni-directional assumption led me to focus on Goode's and Wilensky's appraisals of the inevitability of the process of professionalization. The basis of their critique of inevitability, the neglect of structural context and the role of occupational activists, suggested to me very specific grounds for criticising the uni-directional assumption. Moreover, if a critical perspective of the process of attaining professional traits was suggested, so too was a questioning of professional traits themselves. And, of course, it was by these traits that profession was to be known. For, just as the historical development of such traits could not be understood adequately without reference to a theoretical framework which included structural context and the role of occupational activists, neither could the end point of such a process, becoming a profession, be understood in a vacuum. Indeed the very assumption of an end state in itself becomes problematic as soon as we take the structural context into account.

The notion of traits, inevitable or unchanging institutions, which were the defining criteria of a profession, was no longer appropriate. Taking as central the factors neglected by the earlier model, I came to see these institutions as strategies developed by occupational actors in a particular occupational context; it was an occupational context not merely as defined by sociologists, but as perceived by occupational actors, from their varying experiences. Therefore, in this new perspective the notion of profession takes on the quality of an "objectified category", utilised by various groups of actors in ordering their occupational world and yet historically transcending each particular use of it.

CHAPTER II

New Perspectives on Occupational Institutions.

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The Strategic Model

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CHAPTER II

SECTION A

The Strategic Model

(i) Growing awareness of processes underlying actors' own normative definitions.

Associations, codes, educational institutions and the conventional paraphernalia of professionalization, none of these, I would argue, are the inevitable or unchanging means of attaining the central goals of control, status and economic reward for members of an occupation. Such institutions may be modified, or even replaced, depending on the situation and perspectives of the currently powerful occupational activists.

This type of theoretical framework moves away from the earlier functionally oriented models, arising from sociologists' uncritical acceptance of actors' normative definitions of their situation. In line with Johnson's recent attempt to move beyond "the error of accepting the professionals' own definitions of themselves", (1) it appears as part of a move to re-orient the traditional literature on professions, a move which Davies (in a recent paper questioning the inevitable decline in the autonomy of professionals employed in bureaucratic organisations) characterised as a move from the consideration of professional authority to professional power. (2)

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(1) Johnson op. cit. p. 25.

(2) Celia Davies, "Professionals in organisations: some preliminary observations on hospital consultants." Sociological Review, 20 no. 4, 1972, p. 553-569. In a sense these recent writers are only reiterating an approach put forward by Bucher & Strauss a decade ago, who argued that, "The seeming unity presented by such arrangements as codes of ethics, licensure, and the major professional associations", are not necessarily evidence of internal homogeneity, "but rather the power of certain groups; established associations become battlegrounds as different emerging segments compete for control". Bucher & Strauss op. cit. quoted Vollmer & Mills, op. cit. p. 192.

While Johnson is interested in replacing the traditional trait and functionalist models with a classification of types of occupational control, my "strategic model" is more action oriented, examining the perspectives, strategies and vocabularies of motives of groups of occupational activists. Moving beyond general processes of impingement of occupations, clients and government upon each other and the resulting power relations, it examines the strategic initiatives of occupational activists who are operating within an everchanging institutional framework, the constraints of which they may not perceive, but which they will certainly experience. Such discrepencies between perceptions and experiences may be due, for example, to a wider or narrower range of occupational experiences or to a process of time lag.

If we start with the central proposition that currently powerful occupational activists, in the name of their occupation, are chiefly concerned with maximising their and their members' control over their work and market situation, with maintaining if not increasing their status and with increasing their economic rewards, then the variety of strategies evolved to achieve these ends need not amaze us. The question ceases to be <u>what</u> are the crucial defining strategies and becomes <u>why</u> are particular strategies developed rather than others. Escape is at hand from the dilemmas of classification.

If the key question is now, why are some strategies rather than others developed and maintained by certain occupational groupings at certain periods; what are the key dimensions in answering this question? Rather than referring to any general functional significance, I would argue that the range of strategies pursued in the name of an occupation must be related to the situations and experiences, the perspectives and evaluations of powerful activists. Their experiences and goals will mediate their assessment of the historical situation of the occupational grouping in whose name they are acting.

But, /

But, having argued that there can be no theoretically predefined set of strategies that a distinguishable category of occupations, professions, will utilise, the empirical data on some occupations seems to give this the lie. So how can we explain, without reverting to the sterile trait model, the observable fact that some occupations, or rather occupational activists, seem to be working with very similar sets of strategies? The use of common reference groups seems to offer part of the answer. The "established professions" in general, and the medical profession in particular, seem to provide many occupational activists with an ideal as well as many sociologists with an ideal type. Prandy, for example, reported that the Engineers Guild hoped, "broadly speaking to do for engineers the sort of things that the B.M.A. does for doctors". (1)

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(1) K. Prandy, Professional Employees. Faber & Faber London 1965 p. 75. See below p.132. The Ad Hoc Committee recommended studying the activities of "successful percussion instruments" such as the B.M.A., arguing that, "some judicious moulding of society's thinking seems legitimate enough."

Apart from the use of common reference groups, there is the less remarked upon, and more remarkable, phenomenon of feed back between the sociologists' and actors' models. If sociologists have all too frequently been blinkered by actors' definitions of their situation, so actors have limited - yet in some sense legitimated - their actions by using sociological models as blueprints. And therein lies a theme which will be taken up in greater detail in the second half of the section.

(ii) <u>The relevance of the structural context of an occupation to a strategic model</u>.

The significance of structural context is somewhat different in this model from earlier discussions; for it combines the actors' perceptions of their occupational world and the institutions impinging on it with sociologists' notions of significant structural features. Johnson's recent discussion of different types of occupational control, and the structural conditions associated with them, illustrates the style of structural analysis about which I have reservations. He outlines the structural conditions that he feels are relevant, ("existing or potential clientele", "powerful or entrenched occupational groups"} government agencies and academic institutions) without referring to the actors' perceptions of the conditions that they define as relevant. (1)

We cannot assume, I would argue, that the sociologist's analysis of structural conditions, of the implications of work and market situations, for example, is adequate. We cannot take for granted that inter-occupational conflicts, perceived by sociologists from hindsight, were necessarily relevant to the ongoing processes. Thus, we cannot assume a congruence between the definition of the situation by sociologists and by occupational actors in general, or activists in particular. Moreover, we need to be especially open to the differential distribution of knowledge between actors.

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(1) Johnson op. cit. p. 30.

However, we do not need to go to the opposite extreme and rely entirely on an actors' model. There does also seem to be a place for the analysis of actions by an observer, who has special insight, but, who, by virtue of his situation and experiences, is detached from the actors. Such an observer should be able, for example, to examine a particular course of action and the intentions supporting it, and then compare this with his empirical observation of what happens. In this way the institutional constraints on actors' strategies would come to light and the paradoxes, or unintended consequences, of action would emerge; he would be able to observe the match, or mismatch, between occupational actors' assessments of the potential of various strategies and their effects in empirical reality; he would also be able to trace the variations in the association between work situation and individuals' perceptions and evaluations of their occupational world, rather than assuming a set relationship. In addition, an observer might gain special insight by juxtaposing different points of view, views held within the occupation and without the occupation, views of significant others associated with the occupational world and those of sociologists.

Thus, occupational strategies are not seen merely as determined by certain institutions defined by sociologists as structural conditions, by, for example, the work situation of certain occupational activists. Rather, strategies are developed within an institutional framework which is constantly modified by action in an ongoing process in which actors' experiences - of relevant situations - their legitimations and their evaluations are intricately related. (1) These actors' understanding of everyday reality is mediated by their past experiences and to a lesser extent - depending largely on their age - by their anticipated experiences; their willingness to take certain courses of action is further influenced by socially available legitimations, together with their assessment of the likely success or failure of a particular course of action.

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(1) As Silverman has put it, "Both roles and structure merely provide a framework for action; they do not determine it. Both are the product of the activity of acting units and not of "forces" which leave such acting units out of account". D. Silverman. The Theory of Organisations. Heinemann, London, 1970, p. 134-5.

Such assessments are based on feed-back from several sources: from previous occupational strategies, the strategies of other reference occupations and even from sociologists' own models.

(iii) Structural context - market and work dimensions.

Lockwood's notion of market and work context have been useful in ordering the elements that I feel are particularly relevant to the development of occupational strategies. (1) But, here, I am using them to denote structural features relevant to a sociological analysis along with the actors' perceptions of their occupational world. So, at one and the same time, I want to consider market situation and market experiences, work situation and work experiences. By market situation Lockwood referred to job availability, job rewards, job security and so on; to the outsiders' overall account of these factors, I wish to add the individuals', or a particular collectivity's, experiences of these factors. Similarly, with the outsiders' assessment of the distribution of control in the work situation, I wish to combine the actors' experiences of control in the relationships surrounding the practice of a particular skill. Therefore, for any one or any number of actors, different work and market experiences, for example, will include varying degrees of control over the consumer/client, varying restriction from government mediators and varying degrees of competition and co-operation with organisational equals and superiors and differing opportunities for work and related rewards. Although market and work dimensions seem particularly relevant, the status dimension is also very relevant to the development of these particular occupational strategies. (2)

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(1) Lockwood defined the dimension of market and work situation thus, "'market situation', that is to say the economic position narrowly conceived, consisting of source and size of income, degree of job-security, and opportunity for upward mobility... 'work situation', the sort of social relationships in which the individual is involved at work by virtue of his position in the division of labour." David Lockwood. The Black Coated Worker. Unwin University Books, 1966, p. 15-6.

(2) Lockwood uses a third category, "status situation" which he defines as, "the position of the individual in the hierarchy of prestige in the society at large" (op. cit. p. 15-16). Here I am thinking of status in a more Weberian sense, of the positive or negative evaluation of social skills and performances and social honour in general, and the relationships and groupings that emerge in consequence. (cf. H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills, From Max Weber. Routledge, 1947 Chp. VII, p. 187).

Such market and work situations and experiences are not necessarily common to the mass of actors in any named occupation. Although, for some purposes, it is still necessary and useful to talk of 'an occupation' or of 'doctors' or 'architects', such an occupational title refers more to an internally differentiated grouping, on the lines of Bucher and Strauss' "Loose amalgamations of segments pursuing different objectives in different manners and or less delicately held together under a common name at a particular period in history", than to a tightly structured entity. (1) In other words, while there may be some relevance in discussing the overall market and work situations and experiences of the occupational actors, particularly in a historical and comparative context, it is in fact the variety of such situations and experiences, to be found within the collectivity conventionally defined as an occupation, that seems of far greater significance in this analysis.

If the empirical reality of nineteenth century professional development ever justified the model of a unified occupational community, it has certainly become less and less tenable as the twentieth century wears on. (2) The key question here is, what potentially divisive situations and experiences are, in empirical fact, transformed into ongoing occupational divisions, sustained by shared experiences, perspectives and ideologies. Examining medical institutions in the U.S.A. in the 1950's and 1960's, Bucher and Strauss referred to varying sources of "segmentation", to different work activities (and the conceptions of what constitutes the core occupational act), to differences of methodology and technique, as well as differing role sets. (3)

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(1) Bucher and Strauss op. cit. 1961 p. 186.

(2) The population of occupations that I am referring to can be defined by two criteria; firstly, they have to make a claim to be "a profession", and secondly, they must have this claim ratified either by other occupational groups and by state agencies ~~or~~ by sociologists (cf. the discussion of the increasing use by occupational activists of sociologist's models in defining their occupational experiences and strategies. Below p. 32. Above p. 23.)

(3) Bucher and Strauss op. cit. 1961.

But, some occupational areas may be differentiated more in terms of work and market situation than in terms of skill specialization.

The greater range of work locales in which members of the conventional professions can choose to work and the increase of the numbers employed in large organisations has frequently been mentioned. (1) Perhaps less widely discussed is the increase in size, if not in bureaucratisation, of those private practices which remain and which may form a sizable employer of architectural manpower, along with the more widely recognised bureaucratic work locales in government and industry. (2) Thus, the distinction between locales may become blurred, as indeed may the distinction between employer and employee. All employees, whatever their locale, are on career ladders through which they are more or less tenuously linked to higher management; all higher management (outside private practice) are technically employees. The general picture that emerges is one of a historical progression of every increasing complexity. Yet differentiation does not necessarily involve radically different experiences, for there are processes of convergence. (3)

Turning to a particular empirical situation, the employment experiences of architects, we find that differentiation arises most significantly from varying work and market situations and experiences, rather than from different skills. Strictly speaking, the only employers, ~~qua owners~~ with unlimited liability, exist in private practice; in government and industrial settings senior staff are managers and administrators but still employees. Yet their experiences of authority, and even their market experiences, are likely to be far more similar, currently, to those of the partners in private practice than to their fellow employees' in their respective organisational hierarchies - very similar but still somewhat different.

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(1) A recent example is W.E. Moore. The Professions: roles and rules. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1970.

(2) cf. E.O. Smigal. Wall Street Lawyers: Professional Organisation Men. Free Press Glencoe, Illinois, 1969. P.D. Montagna. "Professionalization & Bureaucratization in large Professional Organizations". A.J.S., Sept. 68, Vol. 72, no. 2, pp. 138-45.

(3) Amongst architects movement between occupational locales, for example, is fairly frequent. Amongst my key respondents, it was noticeable that a number had moved from senior government posts to set up their own practices, or else, to become partners in established practices. See below p. 123.

The degree of autonomy in working relations and security in the market situation still varies between principals who are owners and senior bureaucrats. (1)

A similar situation arises when we turn to the staff of private practices and other organisations; their common experiences as employees give them more in common than their different career ladders would suggest. Yet there is a potentially important difference with regard to experience of representation; employees in private practice, and indeed private industry, at the conventional professional level usually make individual bargains with regard to pay and working conditions, whereas employees in government, central or local, are usually involved in collective agreements. It seems relevant to think of such experiences of representation - individual or collective - as a type of experience analytically distinct, if difficult to distinguish in practice.

However, To ~~summarise,~~ although current occupational situations and experiences are important in understanding the development of occupational strategies, for the actor current experiences must be seen as mediated both by past and possibly by anticipated experiences. This involves many of the elements conventionally referred to in the notion of career.

Finally, I should like to re-emphasise the significance of variety in the situation and experience of those loosely linked by a common occupational title. The currently powerful activists may operate in a social world far removed from that of the newly qualified, of the occupationally peripheral or of the organisationally lowly; what may pass for social facts amongst some actors may be totally outwith the experience of others. It is the variety, indeed the possible discrepancy, of social experiences that the sociologist must reveal and relate in some overall schema.

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(1) Although partners in private practice are usually assumed to enjoy a greater degree of autonomy than their public authority counter-parts, in empirical fact, they may be hedged around by the constraints of securing the work-flow of the practice. Yet, the difference remains that they are still legally liable for the work carried out in their offices. (During interviews I was frequently told of the increasing difficulty of obtaining adequate insurance cover for large projects.) However, there is a considerable difference in market situation; the individual security of government employees at all levels is of a completely different order from the uncertainties of private practice.

(iv) Legitimations - the case of professionalism.

In the political process of claim and counter claim, notions such as profession or professionalism are used by occupational activists for their own ends and yet have their own constraining influence. Specifically, occupational activists select explanations and justifications for certain courses of action or strategies from within a range of "vocabularies of motives". The explanations are chosen for their relevance and cogency to different audiences. These audiences will include the activists themselves, as well as others within and without the occupation, for these activists are not merely calculating manipulators, but to a greater or lesser degree may be committed to different legitimations. As Mills has put it,

> "When a person confesses or imputes motives, he is not usually trying to describe his social conduct, he is not merely stating reasons for it. More usually he is trying to influence others to find new reasons which will mediate the enactment of his role - and in so trying to influence others he may often influence himself." (1)

Not only does the legitimation have to seem right and beneficial to current subgroupings within an occupation, and bear some relationship to legitimations previously put out in the name of the occupation, but it has to have relevance for others, for occupational competitors or for government mediators.

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(1) H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, Character & Social Structure, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1964, p. 117. cf. also their summary of their whole approach: "Within the perspective under consideration, the verbalised motive is not used as an index of something in the individual but as a basis of inference for a typical vocabulary of motives of a situated act."
C. Wright Mills. "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motives". in J.G. Manis & B.N. Meltzer (ed) Symbolic Interaction - A Reader in Social Psychology. Allyn & Bacon, Boston, 1967, p. 361.

Professionalism provides certain occupational activists with a very potent historically established rationale for action. (1) Appropriate to those with everyday experience of high levels of control, status or economic reward - whether currently enjoyed, temporarily lost or confidently anticipated - it has been referred to by Prandy as a type of "status ideology". He associates this status ideology with particular aspects of the "employment situation", although he by no means sees it as determined /

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(1) Here I am referring to professionalism as an interrelated set of ideas or symbols and not as a scale defined in terms of given traits, (W.E. Moore, op. cit.) or a form of occupational control. (Johnson op. cit. see above p.15.) Professionalism as an occupational legitimation has the qualities that Mullins attributes to ideology in a society-wide context - "a logically coherent system of symbols, which, within a more or less sophisticated conception of history, links the cognitive and evaluative perceptions of one's social situation - especially its prospects for the future - to a program of collective action for the maintenance, alleviation or transformation of society." (W.A. Mullins, "On the concept of ideology in political science." Am. Pol. Sc. Rev. LXVI, 2, 1972 p.519.) Seeing professional ideology as a complex of ideas and rationales hanging together historically, if not quite as logically, as Mullins suggests, I tend to accept Turner and Hodge's treatment, "At the ideological level, a claim to a high degree of monopoly over 'professional activities' constitutes a charter in the Malinowskian sense of the word. It is a declaration, a bid for recognition and an attempt at justification intricately interwoven. The declaration is likely to be couched in terms of there being a complicated set of abstract principles which are applicable to what Goode has termed 'the concrete problems of living'. The bid for recognition may take the form of a claim to exclusive possession of knowledge and associated techniques, or at least to their greatly superior application. The justification is commonly advanced on many grounds, among which the possession of esoteric knowledge and high skill, the performance of tasks of high social value, the image of community service and dedication, and the detail of competitive claims may well feature." op. cit. p. 27-28.

determined by them, thus he hypothesises,

> "that the more the conditions described above, poor market situation, a work situation which emphasises the subordination to management and so on, are present in the employment experience of a group, the less its attitudes and behaviour will be of a status type, and the more they will be of a class variety..... The two ideologies are opposed only as ideal types: in practice because of the way in which they arise, they form a continuum. An acceptance of the claims to legitimacy of the ruling group leads to the holding of a status ideology. The conditions described above serve to weaken the degree of acceptance, to bring about a recognition of the conflict of interest, and thus to encourage class attitudes." (1)

Such attitudes are institutionalised in two types of occupational association. "Trades unions are class bodies - they bargain with employers: professional associations are status bodies - they bestow a qualification and seek to maintain or enhance its prestige." (2) Although they tend to have the same goal, "economic protection", the means of achieving it are constrained by different ideologies.

The contrast of status ideology with class ideology highlights the essential acceptance of a hierarchical social ordering which professionalism involves. But Prandy's treatment neglects the specific features of professionalism as a legitimation. The pursuit or maintenance of very favourable experiences of control, status and economic reward, chiefly by monopolistic strategies, are explicitly justified by several formulas, the most common of which are: the unusually esoteric nature of the knowledge and skill, and the community rather than the self-interested orientation. (3)

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(1) Prandy op. cit. p. 41

(2) Ibid P. 44. The label 'professional' has become one of prestige and status and the problem has arisen out of a desire to prevent groups of lower status from assuming this prestige label... the most important fact about such groups - that their behaviour is motivated by a status ideology... op. cit. p. 46.

(3) Prandy does, in fact argue that a community orientation, or high sense of duty is not restricted to a professional ideology..... "The high sense of duty is part of a status ideology which can exist quite independently of professionalism. The professional association is important as a concrete expression of this ideology amongst certain groups." op. cit. p. 46-7.

(v) Assessment of the potential of various strategies.

Before deciding on any strategy, on whether to maintain or modify existing ones or develop new ones, occupational activists are likely to make some estimate as to the probable success or failure of these moves. Such estimates will be based on feed-back from several sources, from strategies previously pursued in the name of the occupation, from the experiences of other relevant occupations and even from the academic researches of sociologists. (1)

In the language of reference group analysis, occupations are using each other as normative reference groups; specifically, occupational activists in one occupation see the strategies of other occupational activists as appropriate to their own problems. An analytic distinction has been made between groups from which standards are taken and those with which evaluation is made, although in any specific situation both aspects may be intertwined. Thus, amongst architects we find that they use "the professions" as a comparative reference group in assessing their relative status and economic rewards, and as an evaluative reference group in developing educational institutions - a traditional professional strategy. On the other hand, package dealing building contractors are used as a comparative reference group when occupational activists try to assess the uncertain position of the architect as "leader of the building team", and as a normative reference group in developing general management practices into a management strategy for architects. In this connection, architect activists did not use other professions as a reference group - they could not, as none of them had developed such a strategy.

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(1) Johnson has pointed out that "professionalism is a very successful ideology and as such has entered the political vocabulary of a wide range of occupational groups who compete for status and income...." op. cit. p. 32. I would expect this recent sociological assessment to be in the process of being fed back to occupational activists as I write this! His book has certainly been reviewed this year in the architects' professional Journal. See below p. 42.

The use of such different reference groups as the professions and package dealing contractors points to the different relations between architects and those with whom they compared themselves. While they chose the other professions, in a Mertonian fashion, to suit their own purposes, building contractors were given in the role set of actors. (1) They formed a reference group, following Dahrendorf's usage, of structurally related groups with sanctioning powers. (2)

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(1) R.K. Merton & Alice S. Rossi, 'contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behaviour', In R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (rev. ed. Glencoe, Illinois, 1957).

(2) R. Dahrendorf. Essays in the Theory of Society. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968, p. 46.

SECTION B

(i) The case of Feedback between certain sociologists' and actors' Models.

The model of occupational institutions as strategies, rather than given traits, emerging out of a dialectical interrelation between the experiences, legitimations and assessments of competing collectivities of occupational activists, developed directly from a critique of the earlier trait model. Yet the empirical fact remains that some traits do seem to hang together in some occupational situations. If such clustering can no longer be taken for granted in terms of the trait model, this must be explained; but how? The answer, I would suggest, lies in the feedback processes in the strategic model which highlights its dialectical quality. (1)

The significance of feedback mechanisms in allowing occupational activists to assess the potential for success or failure of particular strategies has been outlined in the previous Section. (2) Such knowledge might come from a variety of sources defined as socially relevant; from historical experiences within an occupation, from other relevant occupations and, increasingly, from sociologists' own analyses. In this case, the occupational activists observed what they regarded as the success of a particular cluster of strategies, in attaining the greater control, status and economic rewards that they aimed for, and felt that such strategies might be similarly successful in their own occupational milieu. While the capacity of occupational actors' to learn from, and anticipate events, is significant and demonstrable from concrete experience of their own occupational world and information about other similar worlds, it is the feedback more recently available, and more recently utilised, from sociologists' analyses which I find particularly interesting.

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(1) In recent study Elliott has referred to a process of "convergence", but he does not discuss it in any detail. Philip Elliott, The Professions, Macmillan, London, 1972, p. 139.

(2) See above p. 23.

Increasingly, I would argue, occupational activists have been assessing and developing their strategies in the light of sociologists' models; more specifically, they have been operating in terms of the sociological ideal type trait model of professions, and of the all embracing notion of the process of professionalization. Such feedback processes, even when they were explicitly perceived, were not incorporated into the earlier models, but they must be at the heart of any strategic model. However, in the strategic model there can be no exact fit in the cycle of feedback between actors and sociologists, because in any given situation the actors would not implement the sociologists' model exactly, since their knowledge of the model has changed the situation. (1) So the sociologists' model is not a good predictor of what actors will do next; there are other constraints operating to modify their actions.

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(1) "The simple knowledge of a given empirical sequence is a cognitive factor interactive with the cognitive, affective and evaluational factors that are part of the societal matrix from which the uniformities were originally precipitated. Such awareness is fed back into the matrix by the researcher, the colleagues which seek to substantiate it, and all to whom it is communicated as a new and unique anticipatory factor which will, to greater or lesser degree in the shorter or longer run, short circuit one's capacity to verify it or its particular magnitude in the future. The predictive accuracy designated by the term 'prevoir', in other words, is subverted by our capacity to anticipate - 'prevenir' - that such a response or attitude is expected of social man again. Such newly unravelled evidence of social order - such social knowledge - stands as a new and unique factor entering into the social matrix that includes both the researcher and his subjects, transforming it in some measure from the matrix that might have been if the order had not been revealed."
Robert W. Friedrichs, "Dialectical sociology", B.J.S., 20, 1972, p. 266.

(ii) Feedback processes in sociology in general.

Some professions have commissioned, and we presume used, studies by sociologists in understanding their social situation and planning professional strategies. There is nothing new in such occurrences, especially in the field of work and organisations. The classical Hawthorne studies of the early 1930's were fed back to management by the Harvard investigators. A certain novelty arises when some professions become aware of a general body of sociological literature and make use of it quite unknown to the original researchers. (1) While suggesting, in passing, that this clearly raises certain ethical and methodological questions for sociologists, the main interest in the present context is the complicated feedback mechanism which such use of social science models introduces into the situation, generating self fulfilling models. (2)

(iii) Feedback processes - the professions in general. (3)

These feedback loops, between the models used by sociologists to explain certain phenomena and the use of these models by the very actors under investigation, have been established for some professions over a long period.

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(1) In a later article Goode himself comments, "Leaders and their followers in a given occupation work out (consciously or not) strategies and tactics for aggrandisement on the basis of whatever amatuer social science engineering they can command." W. Goode, op. cit. 1969.

(2) The methodological problem of "contamination" is particularly important. In the course of interviewing a sample of practitioners (see below Chapter V) I was frequently asked for information on what other practices were doing and sometimes for my own assessment of the situation of the profession.

(3) In this section I intend to use the terminology used by occupational activists to emphasise their self perceptions. As the definition on p. 26 indicates the membership of any group of occupations known as professions is problematic and indeed changeable.

Mention of an article in the Journal of the R.I.B.A. for December 1917, by Sydney Webb, entitled, "The functions of an architectural society", gives some idea of period of time during which architects have taken cognisance of social scientists' discussions. And to bring the illustration up to date, I was given, on my first exploratory visit to the R.I.B.A., a bibliography of relevant studies, which included such authors as, Carr-Saunders and Wilson, Millerson and Prandy, by a very senior member of the full time staff. More recently still, I first learnt of one of the most recent studies in this field, "Professional Ethics", written by a previous Secretary to the Royal Incorporation of Chartered Surveyors, when I found it on sale at the R.I.B.A. bookstall, in the main concourse at the profession's headquarters in London. (1) Although holding a conventional professional role as practising barrister and subsequently on the staff of a recognised professional institute, Bennion opened his study with a thorough discussion of the state of the term "profession", as developed by social scientists.

In considering the interrelations between the sociologists' and actors' models, it appears, therefore, as if both older and more newly established sociologists' notions of professionalization are being utilized by professional activists in developing their strategies. However, in the field which I have been studying at least, it does seem as if events have been moving faster than the sociologists. In the recent British circumstances which have been dominated by government policies of income restriction and increased productivity, and monitored by such bodies as the Prices and Incomes Board and the Monopolies Commission, conventional professions have had to forge new strategies to meet new contingencies, operating ad hoc rather than in terms of any sociologists' models. However, this is to anticipate the development of the argument, and it is first interesting to discuss the prevalence of direct interchange between the sociologist and the professional activists they have been studying and advising.

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(1) F. Bennion. Professional Ethics: the consultant professions and their code. Charles Knight, London, 1969.

A number of the papers which have been and will be discussed were in fact published in the journal of the profession under consideration. E.C. Hughes was very much aware of the use made by conventional professionals of his academic courses. In an article on the professions in Daedalus, 1963, he points to the numbers of non-sociologists who have attended his courses on occupations and professions over the past twenty five years, who have come with the intention either of documenting changes occurring in their own professions, or learning more about new developments that might be appropriate to their profession. (1) Writing for "Social Work", an American professional journal, Greenwood clearly outlines his model of "the attributes of a profession", in order that social workers may, "possess clear conceptions of what they so fervently seek", and be able to "anticipate some of the problems that continued professionalization must inevitably precipitate". (2) Two of Goode's papers were published for the professions under consideration. Perhaps it will be of more than academic interest to take a further look at the second paper, where he advises sociologists in the United States what action to take in the face of "encroachment" from psychologists. (3) He argues that a new ethic of science moves these emerging professions and that characteristics of older professions, guild unity and intense conflicts over encroachments of a work area, with their associated pressures towards licencing, are greatest when, "the occupation deals with an individual client and cannot easily demonstrate its competence." (4)

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(1) E.C. Hughes, "Professions" in Daedalus, The Professions. Fall 1963, pp. 655-69.

(2) E. Greenwood op. cit. (reprinted in Vollmer and Mills op. cit. p. 19). With Greenwood the situation becomes even more complex, for he seems to have been a professional himself, (cf. Elliott op. cit. p. 139) and his analysis has been treated as central by sociologists!

(3) W.J. Goode, op. cit. 1960.

(4) Ibid p. 913.

Thus, he argues, pressures to licence or gain control over certain work titles started in a particular area of Psychology - Clinical Psychology. Its members were competing with Psychiatrists, and their efforts came to dominate Psychology as a whole because they formed an influential part of it. For this reason, Psychologists as a whole were imbued with notions of licencing work areas and came to trespass on the area of Social Psychology, hitherto, and informally recognised as, an intermediate field between Psychology and Sociology. He admits that Psychology has moved towards guildhood, but claims that it is not "the statistically normal process of our time". Leaving on one side the minor territorial challenges, his call to Sociologists is: "Let us give our energies to the creation of a science all can respect; this will protect both sociologists and the public better than the evolution of a guild." (1) Thus, Goode's theoretical analysis becomes the basis for prescribing the maintenance or development of particular occupational institutions, in this case the ethic of science.

(iv) Feedback between sociologists' and actors' models - in the architecture profession.

Briefly following up this process of interchange between social scientists and professionals within the confines of the architecture profession, several interesting exchanges emerge. Sydney Webb has already been referred to; he provided a range of comments relating the origins of the architects' association to the three general impulses - the creative, the fellowship and the possessive - which were behind all associations. He commended the ensuing elevation, criticised elements of exclusiveness and suggested ~~two~~ certain new functions. He clearly recognised the contending forces which have always given conventional professions their chameleon like qualities of self interest in the context of serving the public. While he thought it legitimate for an architectural association to defend the profession and individual professionals against the lay

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(1) Ibid. p. 914.

community, he felt that,

> "It ought to aim at promoting its vocation.... It is strengthened by the fellowship impulse in the way of social intercourse and benevolence. It is, I fear, always subject to the possessive impulse; its members will endeavour to get as much collectively for the vocation from the community as they can." (1)

In more recent years such informed comment and advice has continued, from a greater variety of sources. In a later chapter much fuller consideration will be given to investigations carried out into the state of the occupation by an economist, under the auspices of one of the main architectural journals. (2) One of the main concerns was the supply of manpower and the then currently pressing problem of unemployment amongst architects. But, aside from fact finding, Professor Bowen and his research associate published a final summary, headed, "What is an architect? What changes should be made?" (3) And in the following couple of years, his associate, Martyn Webb, published discussions in the same journal, the Architects' Journal, on the much debated topic of the R.I.B.A. and the possibility of its taking on trade union type functions. (4)

In the early 1960's a working group of the R.I.B.A., engaged in consideration of the Code of Professional Conduct, commissioned a paper directly from a sociologist working as part of a team investigating the whole building industry. (5)

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(1) Sydney Webb, op. cit. p. 147.

(2) Professor Ian Bowen was Guest Editor of the Architects' Journal in 1953 and ran a series of articles publishing his research findings, entitled, "Focus on you: the architectural profession". See below p.138-142.

(3) Architects' Journal, 28.1.54, p. 122.

(4) See below Chapter IV, p. 144-145.

(5) Gurth Higgin, a sociologist, along with Jessop, an Operations Researcher, from the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, were commissioned to undertake preliminary investigations into certain building industry problems in 1962-3. Higgin's paper was published in the R.I.B.A.J., April, 1964. P. 139-45.

In his paper, printed in the Journal of the R.I.B.A. in April 1964, entitled, "The architect as professional", Gurth Higgin started by putting the traditional case for the professional. The building owner needs objective advice because of his inexperience in this costly project of building, yet certain social needs, based on supra-client values, should be considered also. Before allowing anyone control over his affairs, the client must be assured of the expert's competence and his prime concern to serve his best interests. "Only a professional role", he argues, "adequately based on a distinctive academic discipline and supported by a publically sponsored institution with a formal code of ethics can claim the sanction to undertake this multiple social responsibility." (1) However, in the context of the architect associating himself with other building team roles, he develops the theme of the need for shared responsibility. He has some clear recommendations concerning the problem with relation to professional and commercial interests and the degree to which architects should be involved on the contracting side of the building industry; either architects can be employed by such firms, either as employees or as directors within the professional ethical code, or else they should not be employed in either capacity. (2)

One of Higgin's most interesting suggestions, which will be placed in context in a later chapter, was that the technical competence of the profession as well as the Code of Conduct should be under examination. (3) Direct competition from the building industry, through the "package dealer" offering design and construction services, he argued, raised questions not merely of the ethics of professional relations with commercial concerns, but of the architects' technical competence to fulfil the needs of the contemporary building owner.

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(1) op. cit. p. 140

(2) Then, as now, architects may work as employees but not be directors of building firms, without contravening the Code. The debate still continues, and the position was strongly challenged by Andrew Derbyshire in a paper at the 1969 R.I.B.A. Annual Conference, in which he advocated the dropping of several "professional" rulings with specific relation to commercialism. One of the most revolutionary being the rule against advertising. See below, Chapter V, p.

(3) See below Chapter IV, p. 140.

Finally, to bring these examples right up to date, I would like to quote from a review in the Journal of the R.I.B.A. of two recent studies, Elliott's, "The Sociology of the Professions" and "Professions and Power" by Johnson. Although neither the editor of the Journal, nor the council or staff of the R.I.B.A., would associate themselves with such comments, it gives an indication of the types of issue which they regard as appropriate for dissemination through the professional journal. The reviewer starts with a quotation from Elliott, and then continues with his own comments:

> "'The professions have always occupied a marginal position in society peripheral to the main divisions of class, status power and interest', writes Philip Elliott. Perhaps in view of the global preoccupations of architects today, we should be reminded of this more forceably and more often. That is not to say that we should necessarily narrow our vision, but that if we are to continue to concern ourselves with broad social, economic and political issues, we may have to take a very much freer view of our own political structure, and even be prepared to abandon it altogether..... In spite of the achievement of registration, the proliferation of supportive legislation and the absorption by government and private industry of major proportion of our members, there is no clear channel by which the consensus of professional architectural opinion can be expected to determine, or even influence, relevant decisions." (1)

And referring to Johnson's three-fold control model, he argues,

> "But it is obvious that the last two means of control (by public and private patrons and by mediation of government legislation) are the ones which ultimately have the most to do with the shape and nature of practice, and ultimately with the role of the professional in society. By reverting increasingly to the collegiate model, the profession would undoubtedly cut itself off from those channels of influence that are most crucial to its continued development.... We have moved, further than perhaps many would acknowledge, in the direction of control by patronage and mediation. We have a great deal more to do in exploring the means by which our multifaceted profession can assume a structured role in the organisation of patrons and in the mediating mechanisms of government". (2)

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(1) Book review by Robert Macleod. R.I.B.A.J., Feb. 1973, p. 66-67.

(2) Ibid.

(v) The implications of feed back processes.

Beyond pointing to the publication of such sociologists' analyses, it is difficult to assess their specific influence. (1) It must be closely related to the activities and influence of a few key occupational activists, although changes in general awareness amongst the members of an occupation in the long term may be significant. (2) However, the interrelationship of sociologists' and actors' models seems to have become more prevalent in recent years and is clearly highly significant in considering the self-conscious development of strategies by activists aiming to increase the control, status and economic rewards of their occupation or even segments of occupations. The dialectical quality of these processes renders the conventional sociological approach inadequate and yet transcends the mere actors' model.

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(1) The prevalence of this kind of knowledge of sociologists' models amongst architects, only emerged gradually from the empirical data, by which time it was too late to try and trace their influence at all systematically and in any depth.

(2) See below p. 176.
A key respondent directly links a sociological categorization made by Burns in "The Management of Innovation", with the categorization which he introduced in the Office Survey, a dichotomy which has since diffused throughout certain sections of the occupation.

(vi) In conclusion

I have been arguing, in this chapter, for the need to move beyond the professionals' own definitions of their occupational world, to see these occupational activists as actors initiating strategies within the confines of their occupational milieu. It is not sufficient to perceive their actions as determined by structural conditions, and particularly by those structural conditions deemed significant by sociologists. This is not to say there is no further use for a sociological perspective; the sociologist has a very significant part to play in comparing different world views, for example, or in observing the relations between actors' intentions and what he, the sociologist, perceives to happen.

Although I have argued against a determinist point of view, we need to account for the actors' own perceptions of their situation. Therefore, I have argued that we need to focus on work and market ~~experiences~~ situations as well as work and market ~~situations~~ experiences.

Differentiation of situation and experience within an occupation is central to the strategic approach. For, although it may be relevant for some purposes to assume homogeneity, it is the processes of divergence and convergence which are particularly salient. The question as to which potentially divisive factors form the basis of ongoing occupational divisions is central; for, actors established in their market and political positions may be operating in a totally different social world from the less well established with whom they share the title architect.

Occupational activists develop their strategies in the light of their work and market situations and experiences, but they also rely on feed-back, from a variety of sources, with which to assess the potential of their strategies. They may merely refer to the previous experience of their own occupational elite, but they are very likely to utilise the experiences of other reference groups, of occupations they perceive as similarly placed or even of occupations or organisations from which they feel threatened by competition.

These same groups or organisations are likely to be used as points of reference as these activists develop legitimations for their strategies. While some activists may be personally committed to a particular policy or a particular legitimation, all degrees of commitment are likely to be in evidence amongst activists as a whole.

Although I have argued that there are no theoretically predetermined "traits" or institutions that will inevitably bring occupational activists the control, status and economic rewards to which they aspire, the empirical fact remains that many occupations do demonstrate remarkably similar patterns of institutional development. How do I explain it? I would argue, that the ongoing processes of reference or feedback provide a large part of the answer. Increasingly, activists have become aware not only of the activities of fellow occupational activists, but also of outside researchers, and they have not been slow to utilise their results. These feedback processes have two particularly important implications for this study and also for other studies; in the first place, they imply that sociologists' models can never contain the full picture, since the new knowledge they themselves offer changes the situation of the actors. Secondly, it is in these ongoing processes that I would suggest that the terms profession and professionalism still have meaning, for they are selected and used by the actors and yet have a constraining influence on them.

In the remaining part of the study I examine changing institutional patterns amongst architects, both the development of new institutions and the modification of old ones. The next chapter starts with Kaye's account of the emergence of professional institutions in the nineteenth century but moves beyond his "viewpoint" approach to a more systematic examination of the differential situations and experiences and the variety of reference groups of architect actors. In the last chapters I concentrate on institutional developments in the 1950's and early 1960's. Once again I use the strategic model to highlight the variety of situation and experience of architect activists and the different reference groups they use in their attempts to modify traditional professional strategies and develop new ones.

CHAPTER III

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CHAPTER III

(i) Introduction

In this chapter I intend to use Barrington Kaye's "sociological analysis of the development of professionalism among British architects", the main sociological study in this area, as a springboard for putting forward my own strategic model. (1) While Kaye outlines the general similarities between the pattern displayed by architects and that of other occupational groupings, he himself attempts to move beyond a sequential model, a mere cataloguing of events and institutions. (2) Arguing that the particular claim of architects to have, "both technical knowledge and artistic insight" is of central importance, he attempts to explain their particular course of occupational institutionalization in terms both of a functional analysis and of the specific conflict of intra-professional "viewpoints". (3)

Quite apart from general criticisms of functionalism as a model, I would argue that Kaye's use of it in this instance is misleading and, further, that it is not even empirically sound. Taking this last point first; his emphasis on the economic function of professional institutions does less than justice to the social status aspect of this process of increasing occupational exclusiveness. More crucially, he does not maintain a consistent type of functional analysis throughout the study. For, not only does he resort increasingly to his own actors' model in discussing developments late in the nineteenth century, but, when he expands his initial strong functional analysis of the part that early occupational institutions played in establishing the occupation as an entity, actors' intentions are specifically equated with functional effects. (4)

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(1) For Kaye "professionalism" meant, "the institutionalization of an occupation based on a skilled intellectual technique, whereby the competence and integrity of practitioners are guaranteed to prospective purchasers of their services." Kaye op. cit. p. 21.

(2) See the historical appendix to this chapter for an outline of the main events.

(3) The dual claim, Kaye, op. cit. p. 23.

(4) See below p. 52-53.

Kaye's attempt to combine two analytical perspectives raises as many, if not more, questions than he claims to explain. For, his data is neither systematically ordered in terms of a functional analysis, nor rigidly limited to the exposition of the two viewpoints that he discusses. Indeed, some of his empirical material simply cannot be fitted into his own dichotomised ideal types, professional and artistic viewpoints, professional architects and artist architects.

However, owing to a lack of general historical studies in this field, I have been compelled to use Kaye for an overview of this period. It must be admitted, though, that there are assets for me in his failure to maintain his functionalist position and his gradually increasing dependence on the analysis of viewpoints. This type of actor orientation is much closer to my own than a functional approach. Therefore, I have been able to take advantage of his data on the different viewpoints together with his evidence of structural differentiation, some of which, significantly, does not neatly dovetail with his ideal types. But, before relying uncritically on a selection of his material to support my rather different theoretical framework, I needed to be able to make some sort of assessment of his reliability. At the same time I wished to test my own model against particular historical events. For both these reasons, I undertook a small case study of the controversy surrounding the introduction of the first examinations for architects, an issue known to contemporaries as "the diploma question". (1)

Although I was not able to utilise my strategic model to the full, its use in examining this particular issue, has, I contend, pointed up the salience of certain aspects of the issue which Kaye treated by default or neglected totally. While Kaye's original outline of his "viewpoint approach" did not point to the significance of structural differentiation, he seems to have been compelled by his data to see the differing situations of "senior" and "younger" architects as important. Although I found it impossible to locate all the protagonists

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(1) See below p 63 onwards.

structurally, my model points to the salience of differential structural situations and experiences and, therefore, a wide ranging mapping of such structural divisions is at the heart of my strategic model.

It became clear that Kaye had outlined the broad line of confrontation between senior and younger architects as most contemporaries saw it. But there were other structurally based cleavages. The categories of senior and younger architects were not homogeneous and their internal divisions could be distinguished both in the work arena and the associational arena; differences between the more and the less successful, between young pupil architects and young assistants, divisions between those that contemporaries referred to as "exclusionists" and "educationalists", and between Fellows and Associates of the Institute.

It would be unreasonable to criticise Kaye for ommitting the complexities of structural differentiation, over and above the broad outline, in a short study covering such a wide time span. (1) But he completely neglects the use which architects at the time were making of reference groups; assuming similarity of market and status goals, architects were scrutinising the means other occupational groups had used to achieve these ends and the success they had met with. In this particular issue, and in his study as a whole, Kaye does not refer to such comparisons. Such processes of comparison and evaluation prior to strategy formation are made particularly salient by my strategic model.

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(1) Yet he might have picked up the antagonism between the Fellows and Associates, for he described the setting up of the Society of Architects in 1884 as a specific move by the Associates of the Institute to attain some of the influence they were denied within the R.I.B.A. by the Fellows. On both occasions the Building News seems to have lent its columns sympathetically to reporting the antagonism. Kaye op. cit. p. 136.

SECTION A

(ii) Kaye's functionalism criticised.

The juxtaposition of two theoretical perspectives.

In his historical analysis Kaye offers us a complex theoretical framework combining functional and actor oriented perspectives. In his preface he gives precedence to his functional orientation, for he sums up his work as presenting "a functional explanation of the present state of the architectural profession and the various stages through which it has passed". (1) But, at the end of the second chapter, he adds an actor oriented perspective,

> "The present study then, attempts to analyse the development of professionalism among architects in England, in the light of the principles discussed above: (1) the function of professional associations to provide economic security for their members in a free market economy by the guarantee of competence and integrity; and (11) the tendency of nineteenth century architects to regard architecture as quasi-art instead of applied art, and the effect of this tendency on the dilemma of artistic autonomy." (2)

The second organising principle he defines elsewhere, as the conflict of intra-professional "viewpoints" - a rather unusual perspective to juxtapose with a functionalist analysis. However, Kaye tends to use them consecutively, concentrating his functional analysis on the early development of the professional association and the code, and tracing further institutional developments in terms of the conflict of viewpoints. I propose to start by examining Kaye's functionalism a little more closely; his analysis of intraprofessional "viewpoints" will form the basis of the later discussion.

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(1) Kaye op. cit. p. 8.
(2) Ibid p. 31.

General criticisms.

Let us remind ourselves of Kaye's specific definition of his principle of functional analysis; he refers to,

> "the function of professional associations to provide economic security for their members in a free market economy by the guarantee of competence and integrity."(1)

He is pitching his analysis at the level of the occupational grouping - such as it was at this period - rather than society as a whole. The emerging occupational institutions are seen as functional in maintaining this grouping rather than society as a whole.

However, he also introduces a conventional functional explanation of the a-symmetrical relationship between the individual practitioner and individual client, and its implications for relations between the occupation and society as a whole. At this point I do not wish to go into the details of the functional argument as it has been applied to the professions - Parsons and others have used it many times - except in so far as it illustrates a particular problem in Kaye's analysis. (2) Kaye is using an analytical framework, the functional model of the professions, developed in the twentieth century to explain the historical developments of the nineteenth century. At the centre of the functionalist analysis of professions, as Kaye points out, is the differential possession of a "skilled intellectual technique", for it leaves the layman exploitable on account of his ignorance. Individual clients may be exploited in the short run and individual professionals may gain, but in the long run and for the collectivity of professionals the prognosis is not so favourable - potential clients may look elsewhere for the solution to their practical problems. Thus, the argument runs amongst sociologists, and indeed some percipient professionals, public guarantees of competence and integrity are needed to reassure potential clients.

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(1) Kaye op. cit. p. 31

(2) Parsons op. cit.

I am not disputing the notion of the vulnerability of the client, but I would argue that the architects' clients were not open to exploitation solely, or even chiefly, because of the architects' theoretical or esoteric skills. (1) Kaye himself has described the precarious foundations of the architectural profession.

> "By keeping ahead of both the builder and the layman in his knowledge of the new trends in architectural styles, the eighteenth century architect was able, slowly to consolidate his position. Two attributes enabled him to demonstrate the need for his as well as the builder's services: scholarship and fashion. Neither, the builder, on account of his limited education and time, nor the gentleman, on account of his etiquette and lack of serious inclination, could afford to keep up with these matters." (2)

I am suggesting that the short term power of architects lay in the potential for financial malpractice arising either from competition or collusion with builders and measurers - and Kaye gives ample evidence of this in the early decades of the nineteenth century - rather than in any sophisticated, or esoteric, theories or techniques. (3) Kaye is putting forward a conventional functionalist analysis to explain a situation which had significantly different empirical features.

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(1) Parsons himself, and Goode, have pointed to other sources of power of the medical practitioner and the "person professions" namely, their involvement with individuals in particular stressful circumstances, and their access to particularly intimate information. Parsons op. cit. 1969, Goode op. cit. 1969.

(2) op. cit. p. 47, see also, "an aristocratic contempt of 'minute and mechanical detail' a fad for designing, the interpretation of contemporary taste - these things were precarious foundations on which to build a profession, and the unpredictable and often arrogant behaviour of many architects of the time reflects their disquiet."

(3) For examples of fraudulent practice either resulting from distrust between architect and builder and the use of an intermediary, the measurer, or from collusion between architect and general contractor. cf Kaye p. 72-3.

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Kaye's functionalism has to be criticised on another important count. For, it attracts the type of critique that Mulkay has made of the general use of the functionalist model by sociologists. As a model taken from the biological sciences, he argues that its sociological usage does not fulfil the necessary criteria. For,

> "Functional statements in biology are used in relation to relatively stable, cohesive systems within which specifiable steady states are maintained by negative feed back mechanisms." (1)

The empirical referrant of most sociological studies, he argues, cannot be seen as having a specified end state, still less an end state which can be clearly described and whose range of tolerable variations stated. Furthermore, typical sociological usage does not include the negative feedback mechanisms by which the end state is maintained and which must be portrayed in detail to justify using such a model. (2)

Intrusion of actors' intentions.

Kaye's functionalism is nowhere spelled out in any great detail. His most explicit statement is the one quoted at the beginning of this section where he talks of, "the function of professional associations to provide economic security for their members .... by the guarantee of competence and integrity." (3) Although he is referring to the function of certain institutions in securing the greater stability of an occupation, rather than society as a whole, this kind of framework is within the part-whole tradition of the strong, anthropologically based stream of functionalism. Yet he moves on to a Mertonian form of analysis when he argues that,

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(1) M.J. Mulkay. Functionalism, exchange and theoretical strategy. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1971 p. 115.

(2) Ibid. p. 114.

(3) See above p. 50.

> "these guarantees (of competence and integrity) are made, in the first instance, through the medium of a voluntary association. The effect, and usually the explicitly avowed object, of such guarantees, is to raise the public prestige of the association, which in turn serves to ensure its members some measure of security of employment and income." (1)

Although he does not use the term "manifest function", it is manifest functions to which he is referring in introducing actors' intentions. I do not wish to enter into a critique of Mertonian functionalism, but it is worth pointing out that Kaye does not even exploit Merton's distinction between "manifest" and "latent functions". Therefore, his so called functionalism seems redundant. Indeed, he himself relies less and less on functional explanation as his study progresses, and more and more on actors' viewpoints.

The status dimension not given sufficient weight.

If we now consider the adequacy of his discussion, not as a functionalist, but, in terms of the intentions of actors, we find that he places too much emphasis on economic goals. Indeed we might say that he has been blinded to the potential diversity of goals by his functionalism. He asserts that the development of occupational institutions can be seen primarily in economic terms. Yet he himself rights the balance in the following passage;

> "In transferring his practice from the noble patron to the committees who were responsible for the erection of town halls and clubs the architect was able at last to shed the humiliating relationship that patronage entailed. There remained, however, a severe bar to his acceptance as an equal of other established professionals, which also worked against his acceptance into polite society. This bar was the profitable association of architects with the building trade. And it was, as will be seen, in an effort to overcome this disability that the development of professional associations took place."

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(1) Kaye op. cit. p. 21. (My underlining).

> "It will be seen that in these two factors lie the seeds of professional association. In shedding the inferior status of patronage, the architect at the same time shed its relatively uncritical, and, on the whole, beneficient patronage. Henceforth he found he was obliged to sell his services on the open market. Thus, with the emergence of the architect as free lance practitioner came the beginning of the great struggle for clients which was to persist throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. And, as it has been said above, it is in the free competitive market that there arises the need to guarantee competence and integrity." (1)

But, having referred to the significance of social status aspirations, Kaye moves on in his analysis, as he does in this second paragraph, to the problem of maintaining a market, neglecting the status dimension.

It is not self-evident, I would argue, that these actors could only secure their market or economic interests by cutting themselves off from other parties in the building field. Clearly, many architects had been economically successful as a result of closer liaison with builders and surveyors (or indeed by taking on those functions themselves) before the foundation of the R.I.B.A., and many continued to do so afterwards.(2) It requires more than economic interest to explain the horror of disrepute arising from such questionable liaisons; it requires an element of status

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(1) Kaye, op. cit. p. 56.

(2) cf. the Historical Appendix to this Chapter where the degree of exclusiveness of newly established Associations in the Provinces is contrasted.

striving which Kaye introduces but fails to emphasise. (1)

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(1) This point was made by Frank Jenkins in discussing the "inevitable conflict" between the professional architect and his tradesmen colleagues, at the end of the eighteenth century.

"Men of 'mere lath and plaster', with other tradesmen-architects, were, as we have seen, important figures in the eighteenth century building scene, and were looked upon with suspicion by those who regarded themselves as their professional superiors ... in 1809 Sir John Soane observed; 'we have long had much reason to complain of mechanics of every description, from the bricklayer to the paper hanger, being identified with Architects'... The architect following broadly the tradition of Jones and Gibbs, with his higher social position, his experience of foreign travel and wider education, naturally enough regarded himself as superior to the craftsman-architect, reared in the workshop and trained in architectural matters through the perusal of builders' pattern books.

It seems certain that, generally speaking the conflict was not caused by the dissatisfaction of professional architects with the architect and contractor being one and the same person, for they themselves frequently practised as such. The principal reason for their hostility seems to have been a desire for professional and social prestige. In late eighteenth century society the architect had no wish to be rated with joiners and masons, however proficient they may have been."

Frank Jenkins. Architect and Patron. Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 156-57.

Jenkins' study is important for several reasons. He is an architect and teacher of architecture, not a historian, who might, as a member of the profession, have been inclined to play down (albeit unconsciously), direct status strivings. His study is the only historical study I have been able to find which considers changes in the structure of the occupation in detail, rather than as an adjunct to a study of changes in the character and style of buildings and their individual designers.

The significance of status is also pointed to in a more general context by Elliot.

"This account suggests that professionalism in pre-industrial society was less important as a method of organising work tasks and more important as a means of ensuring status and an appropriate life style." op. cit. p. 22.

(iii) Kaye's Actor Oriented Perspective.

Professional and Artistic Viewpoints (1)

Kaye's very failure to maintain a rigorous functional analysis points to the potential fruitfulness of his second analytical perspective, based on an actor orientation. Yet, in spite of the great advantages of his notion of professional development influenced by two conflicting viewpoints and the actors supporting them, this theoretical perspective raises its own problems. He outlines in ideal type form two viewpoints which are portrayed as unitary and stable and which are supported by two clearly differentiated types of architect. But, I would argue that, by resorting to such ideal types he is oversimplifying the situation to the extent of ignoring discrepancies and variations in perspective and action.

Let us first be clear as to how Kaye himself develops this second analytical framework. At the heart of it is the notion of "the dilemma of artistic autonomy". He argues that new opportunities for claiming independence emerged in the nineteenth century; with these new possibilities arose the problem of the extent to which to claim autonomy, on the basis of artistic criteria, and the attendant risk of failing to please the client, on whom architects' depended both for the expression of their artistic vision and also for a livelihood.

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(1) In this context Kaye seems to be using "viewpoint" as ideology in the Parsonian, consensual, sense - ideas as a basis for action - rather than in the conflict model sense of ideas derived from structurally determined interests. "An ideology, then is a system of beliefs, held in common by members of a collectivity .... including a movement deviant from the main culture of a society - a system of ideas which is oriented to the evaluative integration of the collectivity, by interpretation of the empirical nature of the collectivity and of the situation in which it is placed, the processes by which it has developed to its given state, the goals to which its members are collectively oriented, and their relation to the future course of events."
Parsons op. cit. 1951, p. 349.

> "It is clear that this dilemma becomes the more insupportable the more the architect thinks of his work as approaching pure art. In applied art, by definition, the area in which artistic decisions predominate is small, and the problem therefore less immediate. In what has been termed quasi-art, however, important decisions by definition, are decided by reference to artistic criteria. If architecture is thought of as quasi-art, the client may find himself in the position where modifications he suggests on grounds of utility are overruled by the architect on grounds of style." (1)

In order to highlight this dilemma Kaye puts forward two sets of ideal types of actors and their ideologies.

> "By the artistic viewpoint is meant the argument that the architect should under no circumstances surrender his artistic autonomy, and that if the client will not accept the architect as artistic arbiter, then the architect should not accept his commission. By the professional viewpoint is meant the argument that architects must have clients if they are to earn a living, and that the architect is therefore bound to obey his client's orders, even, if need be, in artistic matters. By the term 'artist-architect' and 'professional architect' are meant architects who support the one or other of these arguments." (2)

Thus, the artistic viewpoint is founded on the claims to autonomy of a person working to a unique personal artistic inspiration. (3)

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(1) Kaye op. cit. p. 30.

(2) Ibid. p. 31.

(3) As Kaye himself infers this "artistic viewpoint" was complicated by stronger and weaker claims; those who saw themselves as pure artists, basing their work entirely on personal insight, could, theoretically, claim more autonomy than those like Wightwick who saw the architect offering, "the superadded graces of correct design and suitable decoration" (Kaye op. cit. p. 84) based on fashionable styles which any layman could find in a text book. It was the former whom Cust was complaining about in suggesting lay control of the House of Commons Competition, for.... "the artist who imagines himself placed above his compeers, assumed a claim to direct exclusively a mystery which not even one of his own craft, much less an amateur or one of the public, can presume to gainsay or control." quoted by Kaye p. 84.

Although Kaye suggests that it was not available to architects until the patronage relationships were breaking down at the beginning of the nineteenth century, such a legitimation has a long history as part of a fairly integrated set of notions about art and is supported by such institutional arrangements as the pupilage system. (1)

The professional viewpoint is different in almost every way. Kaye himself defines it merely negatively, as the viewpoint that does not claim autonomy from the client, but rather, is prepared to fulfil clients' demands in order to secure a market. From the start an element of confusion arises as Kaye uses nineteenth century actors' terminology, thereby labelling as "professional" a perspective which displays a characteristic which is the opposite of that attributed to professional in the sociological literature. (2) Indeed, Kaye refers to this in passing, but fails to notice the discrepancy.

> "Artistic insight shares with professional skill the characteristic that neither can be assessed by the layman. It differs from professional skill in that, with the latter, it is theoretically possible to check the reliability of one expert's solution by reference to another expert. With a work of art, however, only the artist himself can say the extent to which it expresses the vision from which it springs." (3)

Thus, we can detect a difference between the meaning attributed to "professional" by occupational actors in the nineteenth century and sociologists working in the mid and late twentieth centuries. Not so unexpected, it might be said; but, I would also like to go further and suggest that the term might have changed its meaning for actors during the seven decades of the nineteenth century which Kaye covered in detail. At the beginning of this period it might have been neither so well defined nor necessarily have referred to the range of phenomena that it embraced at the end of the period. Kaye failed entirely to comment on the possibility of such historical development.

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(1) Kaye op. cit. p. 84

(2) cf W.E. Moore's study which includes autonomy as the culminating factor in his scale of professionalism. op.cit. 1970.

(3) Kaye op. cit. p. 28.

Merely in passing,he admits that the first time that this dichotomy was explicitly used by architects was around 1890, in the "Architecture, a profession or an Art" controversy, surrounding the question of Registration and further educational developments. (1) Yet he has been using the notion of the differing viewpoints to explain the activities and rationales of architects from the establishment of the professional association in the 1830's, viz. "The establishment of the R.I.B.A. may be regarded as a triumph of the professional viewpoint". (2)

I would argue that to relate a number of institutional developments in terms of such a notion as professional viewpoint, ex post facto, may be attractively orderly, but it does not explain all there is to be explained about why a particular group of actors acted the way they did when they did. When we start thinking of this professional viewpoint, or the artistic one for that matter, as a set of notions and justifications with its own pattern of historical development, rather than a unitary and stable entity, we are more able to cope with the discrepancies that arise from Kaye's analysis.

Ideologies and their supporters.

Kaye argues, as we have just quoted, that the development of the professional association and the code of conduct was a triumph of the professional viewpoint; subsequent educational developments and a registration policy were similar successes for the professional viewpoint. Yet those architects who held the professional viewpoint in pressing for associational developments were amongst the most resistant to educational developments. Educational developments, and later the registration policy, were pioneered primarily by younger architects, but also with help later in the century from provincial architects, in the face of apathy or even hostility from established architects.

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(1) Kaye op. cit. p. 163.

(2) Ibid p. 83.

> "As will be seen, apart from the establishment of the chairs of architecture at King's and University Colleges, there was very little movement on the part of senior members of the profession towards improving the state of architectural education during the middle decades of the nineteenth century and the significant developments in the provision of such facilities mostly derived from the initiative of the students themselves." (1)

We find, therefore, that there is no consistency of support of "professional architects" for "the professional viewpoint", such as Kaye specifies in his theoretical outline. Instead his own position is strangely inconsistent, for, he provides us with the very empirical data, later in his book, which enables us to make such a critique of his theoretical assertions.

While the activities of these senior architects were not consistent in terms of Kaye's ideal types they were certainly rational in terms of their general market and work situations and experiences. If we accept Kaye's estimate that the institutionalisation of a strictly exclusionist code with guarantees of integrity was successful, senior architects would have managed to establish a more secure demand for their services and they would have had far less need than younger architects for a hall mark of competence with which to impress a potential clientele. But, perhaps more significant, the existing educational arrangements based almost entirely on pupilage, with only very limited opportunities for attendance at lectures and courses, provided many established architects with very useful extra income from the premiums, not to mention the unpaid labour, of pupils. Small wonder that they would not happily support suggestions for examinations leading to a diploma which threatened to remove the symbolic value of endorsing articles, and to entice pupils out of offices for varying periods of time to follow lecture courses.

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(1) Kaye op. cit. p. 103

Similarly, there seems nothing inconsistent in junior architects pressing hard for the development of a range of educational institutions with which to impress the public of their "superior attainments" and yet holding back on the question of the regulation of competitions. (1)

The work and market experiences of senior and junior architects were generally so different as to encourage them to support different strategies. But, although they may have differed in the means they felt appropriate, this is not to say that their goals were fundamentally different. It seems likely that all architects were concerned with securing their market and with establishing themselves socially on a par with doctors and lawyers in particular. Commitment to common market and social status goals is, however, not what Kaye is referring to in using the notion of professional viewpoint. This seems essentially to relate to particular

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(1) A contemporary, J.B. Roberts, outlined the rationale for their actions in a pamphlet addressed to architectural students,

"I am aware that the Young Architect is peculiarly situated at this first outset. Unlike the Painter or Sculptor who in the solitude of a garret ... can work with his canvas and colours or his block of marble, while the Young Architect must have the <u>hard cash</u> staring him in the face, ere he can let loose the Pegasus of his imagination, so as to derive any advantage from his labour; and under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at, that he should catch eagerly at every Competition that offers, but he should bear in mind that if in the struggle for professional fame he is in equivocal circumstances successful, he gains it at the expense of that which it should be his pride and boast to maintain and uphold, viz - the character of an honourable profession." quoted by Kaye p. 114.

types of institutional arrangement, guarantees of integrity and competence. It is the differential support of these means of achieving common ends that makes us question the unitary notion of "a professional viewpoint". (1) But, this is not to say that the notion of "a professional viewpoint" was never valid. There seems to be a case for arguing that there may have been a few individuals, holding office at the R.I.B.A. at this early period, whose commitment to the developing notion of a profession of architects was such that it overrode any other individual interests or experiences. (2)

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(1) "As has been shown, the concern of the professional viewpoint during the nineteenth century was almost wholly directed towards the establishment and maintenance of the architectural profession's reputation in the public eye, firstly by guarantee of integrity, secondly by that of competence." Kaye op. cit. p. 163.

(2) This idea arose as I was examining the Diploma issue more thoroughly; in order to substantiate it I would have to obtain more systematic information than I was able to gather on such architects as Mr. William Tite, a Vice-President, and Mr. John Papworth a fellow of the Institute both of whom raised and pursued the case of the junior architects for educational developments, from positions of power at the Institute.
See below p. 84

SECTION B

(iv) The need for a case study

We have found weaknesses in Kaye's account of unitary intra-occupational viewpoints and their supporting casts of architects. He himself has given us evidence of differing work and market experiences, for example, which support a more broadly based strategic approach. But, in spite of the range of evidence he offers, we still cannot be sure to what extent it has been selected and to what extent he has done justice to the issues of the day. With the intention both of assessing Kaye's reliability as a historian and of providing more adequate material with which to illustrate the explanatory power of my strategic approach, I undertook a small case study within the educational field. I chose, both for theoretical and practical reasons, to look in detail at "the Diploma question", the controversy surrounding the introduction of the first examinations to test the competence of architects. On the theoretical side, the weaknesses of Kaye's approach had already become most evident in his analysis of educational developments, while the practical advantages of this particular issue were considerable, since it was contained within a limited time-span, 1855-63.

The case study has been based on a re-analysis of the only four journals referred to by Kaye as extant during this period. A search of the table of contents was followed up by a full review of all the editorials, articles and correspondence relating to the examination - diploma - general educational issue. During this period the Transactions of the Institute of British Architects, later in the century to metamorphose into the Journal, was confined to papers. These papers were usually concerned with design matters, but, in 1855 in particular, it included papers read by Mr. Tite and Mr. Papworth, and subsequently discussed at the Institute, on the Diploma question. Towards the end of the period studied Presidential addresses were also included. The three other journals were of a more conventional type, incorporating

editorials, papers, notices and reports of meetings and correspondence. The Civil Engineer and Architect provided the least general material on these issues, confining most of its references to specific meetings with very limited comment. The Builder and Building News, by contrast, entered the controversy at considerable length, the Builder rather more sedately supporting educational developments, the Building News providing the sparks of antagonism with great gusto. Commencing in 1842 as "an Illustrated Weekly Magazine, for the Drawing-Room, the Office, the Workshop and the Cottage", The Builder had by this period elevated its appeal to "The Architect, Engineer, Archeologist, Constructor and Artist" and was "conducted by" George Goodwin, F.R.S., F.R.I.B.A., who became a Vice President of the R.I.B.A. in 1859. (1) Building News was established in 1855 (changing from Land and Building News in 1856) and described itself as "A weekly illustrated Record of The Progress of Architecture, metropolitan improvements and sanitary reform." It is not clear who editored or sponsored it, but it certainly presented a much more critical appraisal of this education issue and encouraged vigorous arguments in its correspondence columns. It was the only journal to report the activities of the Liverpool Architectural Association, said to be the most flourishing after the London based Institute and the Architectural Association.

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(1) According to Frank Jenkins, the first editor of the Builder, Joseph Aloysuis Hansom- better known for the vehicle that bears his name than his architectural work, - suggested the establishment of a "Builders' College of Architecture and Architectural Engineering". Proposed in the early 1840's these ideas never roused much enthusiasm, but they do suggest an on going concern with education developments on the part of this journal. Jenkins op. cit. p. 168.

From a closer analysis of these journals, I was able to gain an insight into the complexities of structural differentiation and the variety of stances taken concerning this issue in its different aspects. Thus, I was able to see beyond the broad lines of confrontation between "seniors, architects and students" presented by Kaye. But, unfortunately, although it was possible to discern some relationship between work and market experiences and the stand taken by certain individuals, it was impossible to relate all the differing groupings and the stands taken, in an unequivocal way. In many of the meetings reported and most of the correspondence, there was no attempt to locate structurally those involved. The meetings of the Institute were an exception, for, apart from identifying the office bearers, the individuals were differentiated as between Fellows and Associates.

It would be unjust in the extreme to blame Kaye, who is presenting a brief overview of the events of the nineteenth century and those either side of it, for neglecting the finer differences of situation and ideological stance on a particular issue. However, his neglect, in this issue, of the intensive use which architects were making of reference groups, both in suggesting and evaluating strategies, points to a serious omission in his whole analysis. The assessment of such reference group behaviour is central to my strategic model. The ordering of the empirical data will reflect these points; I intend first to outline the variety of structural locations and ideological standpoints, offering the best fit between them that I can substantiate; this will be followed by an examination of reference group behaviour.

(v) A brief outline of the structure of architects' offices in the mid-nineteenth century. (1)

Prior to any more detailed discussion of the range of market and work experiences and their influence on the development of educational strategies, it is necessary to offer a little background on the structure of the occupation, the types of office worked in and the range of career patterns available. Unfortunately, anything more than a brief and rather superficial outline of the structure of architects' offices would require an immense amount of research, as the main secondary sources offer no such account. Suffice to say that office structure and careers were institutionalised in the most rudimentary form. During the nineteenth century the private office was the most usual work locale for the architect. (2) While not housing any modern career ladder, it would be employing, at any one time, architects with very different current responsibilities and future career prospects.

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(1) I am referring loosely to "architects' offices", when the people practising solely as architects must have been very small in number, if increasing considerably in influence particularly in London.
In spite of the separatist aims and restrictive measures, mainly of the London based Institute, the division of labour between architectural, surveying and even building operations was not as complete as these architects would have wished. For much of the nineteenth century, as of the eighteenth, these skills were practiced interchangeably by certain personnel and the offices which they ran. Indeed, there were sufficient people practicing as architects cum-surveyors in the 1920's forthem to set up two associations to oppose the restrictions of the R.I.B.A.'s proposed Registration policy.

(2) In previous centuries the Office of Works, under the authority initially of the Crown and subsequently the Government, had been an important source of work for those coming to separate themselves out as designers. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, but increasingly in the twentieth century, employment by local and central government became important work locales. Architects were latterly allowed to work as employees for building contractors, although not take up directorships.

The critical distinction to be made amongst those working on architectural design is between architect principals and the rest, the rest consisting broadly of pupils and assistants. (1) A principal might be working alone or with one or more partners, he might have pupils or assistants, he might have both or none. In short, an architect's office varied considerably in size and structure in the mid-nineteenth century, as in the mid-twentieth century. Jackson, (well known for his stand with Norman Shaw later in the century again further "professional" encroachments on the art of architecture) was articled in W.G. Scott's office, which he described as large, having in 1858, 27 pupils, salaried assistants and clerks. (2) If this office represented the scale of operations of one of the most successful practitioners of the nineteenth century, we can move down the scale from there through the general run of established and successful architects to the long running if far less successful offices, and on to the newly established small ventures of those just out of pupilage.

Regardless of size, it was the principal who was responsible for maintaining a flow of work, through connections, reputation or the infamous competitions system. It was he who worked with the client, producing the initial if not the complete design for any project. Jenkins has indicated that as the century wore on an architect principal could expect a greater variety and intensity of work; drawings and specifications for quantities had to be undertaken in far greater detail

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(1) The term assistant seems to have been used most frequently for all the staff who were neither principals nor pupils; however, terms such as draughtsmen and drawing clerk also appear. Differences between such staff seems to have been based on seniority rather than differences of function. cf Norman Shaw's progress below p. 69.

(2) Basil H. Jackson (ed) Recollections of Thomas Graham Jackson, (Oxford University Press 1950.)

than previously, together with the much closer supervision of the construction process, and the financial and legal aspects of the work were becoming increasingly significant. (1) It seems likely that, while a considerable amount of more detailed design work could be delegated, the principal, or very experienced assistants, would be needed to undertake this wider range of tasks.

Apart from those endowed with considerable private incomes, younger architects had to face the critical problem of establishing a clientele if they aspired to become independent principals - that some of them never did solve their market problems in the long term is indicated by the dependence of many principals on the income from pupilage. The outlook for those finishing their spell of pupilage, anything from three to five years at this period, is spelled out in "The Complete Book of Trades or the Parents' Guide and Youths' Instructor" of 1842,

> "When he is out of his pupilage, if he can afford it, he should spend a few months in Italy.....On his return, if he heve no private connection, he will wait for an opportunity of competing with other architects for the execution of a public building. If his design be selected, and he complete the edifice satisfactorily, his reputation becomes established and he seldom lacks lucrative employment. But it is almost impossible for a man in the middle walk of life to afford the money to enable a youth to work his way in this arduous pursuit. If he have not the advantage of private capital to live on till he succeeds in business, the pupil, after he is out of his time, obtains employment as a drawing clerk in an Architect's office; and during his leisure hours, makes plans and drawings for small builders, or is employed to measure and value their work. Some by this means get into extensive business." (2)

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(1) Jenkins op. cit. p. 202

(2) From, "The Complete Book of Trades or the Parents' Guide and Youths' Instructor" 1842. Quoted Jenkins op. cit. p. 160.

So, although there were two clear cut modes of entry into architecture, via pupilage or via assistantship (in the former payment being made for the privilege of working in the office, in the latter payment being made to those responsible for the major routine work of the office) the two streams did not continue for ever separate. The less well connected and wealthy, the less talented or even the less lucky might find themselves, even after pupilage, working for any number of years as assistants for established principals. Conversely, the more talented, or more lucky, assistants might be able to establish themselves independently. Norman Shaw, (associated with Jackson in the "Profession or Art controversy with the R.I.B.A. in the late 1880's early 1890's) became a "junior assistant" (to a William Burn) at the age of 14, and within ten years had won architectural medals, travelled abroad and published a book of sketches. (1) At the age of 27 he moved as "principal draughtsman" to the very well established office of William Street. Four years later he set up in practice with another architect with extensive social connections and an Eton school background. Although this association only lasted a few years it seems to have been important in enabling Shaw to set up independently.

Work situation determined the type of membership to which an individual was eligible at the Institute. Thus Fellows had to have practised "civil architecture" consecutively for more than seven years, while Associates had to have practised, or been in the course of education for such practice, for less than seven years, and also be over the age of 21. It is not quite clear whether the move from Associateship to Fellowship was automatic or highly selective, and if so on what criteria.

In summary, the lack of clear cut structural divisions and career lines is the most significant aspect of nineteenth century

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(1) Sir Reginald Blomfield, Richard Norman Shaw, R.A., Batsford London, 1940.
Jackson, another artist architect, a Memorialist, had a very different training; after taking a degree at Oxford he spent three years as a pupil in the office of George Scott, probably the most well known London architect. Subsequently his own connections brought him both a few commissions and non resident Oxford Fellowship, which supported him through the difficult early years.
Basil H. Jackson (ed) op. cit.

architectural practice. Therefore, it is difficult to perceive or anticipate any clearly bounded interest groups, particularly in the educational issue which we will now be examining in more detail.

(vi) The Diploma Question

(a) Introduction

At a meeting of the Architectural Association in October 1855, the President, Mr. Bailey, proposed the introduction of a diploma in architecture. Although there had been desultory discussion about architectural examinations previously, there had been no such concerted attempt to create a form of certification following examinations and coursework. In advocating a diploma, Mr. Bailey sparked off a controversy over the introduction of architectural examinations which dragged on - and off - for eight years. (1) Finally, the R.I.B.A. Council produced a compromise, a voluntary examination of technical competence, which specifically excluded any design/artistic element and denied a public mark of recognition, a diploma, to the successful. Behind this compromise lay antagonism, not merely between students and senior architects - between pupils and master, between those without and those with a relatively established market and status positions - but also between Associates and Fellows, those without and those with influence at the Institute, and between loosely defined emerging groups of educationalists and exclusionists. These contending parties can be seen in action in two broad arenas, the work/market arena and the associational arena.

In other words, there was no simple division between those favouring and those rejecting educational developments. Amongst those favouring developments, for example, different goals were sought; some hoped an examination or diploma would improve the market and status of some, or all, architects, others had a deeper concern with the quality of education itself. If the goals differed, so did the means of achieving them; controversy centred on such questions as, what skills should be examined?

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(1) For the detailed outline of events see Appendix at the end of this chapter.

who should be eligible for the examination? should it be voluntary or compulsory? should a diploma be granted or not? As Kaye has suggested, the debates about ends and means were couched in terms of differing views of architecture; different strategies were seen to be appropriate, depending on whether architecture was seen as more of an art or a science. Kaye has outlined the extreme positions in his ideal types of professional and artistic viewpoints. However, in concentrating on intra-occupational terms of reference, Kaye has neglected a very significant aspect of the debate, namely, the widespread use of inter-occupational comparisons either to support or reject educational developments.

(b) <u>The complex division of interests between senior and younger architects - the work and market arenas</u>.

Having mapped out the divergent positions in this controversy, I feel there is no doubt that in centring on the conflict between senior architects and students, Kaye was reflecting a widely held contemporary perception of the situation. The members of the Architectural Association who initiated the debate about the introduction of examinations, a diploma and the extension of educational facilities in 1855, identified themselves thus,

> "Your Memorialists, representing the younger members of the Architectural profession, beg to lay before the R.I.B.A. their desire for the establishment of an examination which should eventually serve as the basis for the issue of such a diploma as shall certify that the holder thereof is fully qualified to practice as an architect.....
> In no case have they that important and valuable direction given to their several studies which is found to be so successful an inducement to the complete mastery of other professions." (1)

Such complaints from student architects about the poverty of educational facilities offered during pupilage were inextricably bound up with future market opportunities, as an anonymous correspondent to The Builder in 1856 indicated with unusual frankness,

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(1) <u>Transactions of the Institute of British Architects</u>, 1855-6, p. 37.

> "The cry for a diploma evidently comes from a body of young architects who find it difficult to get employment sufficient to sustain them in respectable circumstances... It appears to me that in consequence of the abuse of the present system of architectural pupilage, the number who have entered the profession is much greater than the demand for their services would justly warrant.... Architects are in general too ready to take on young men into their offices as pupils, when perhaps the little practice they have is scarcely sufficient to employ even their own time. When a premium is offered it is irresistable.....The evil naturally multiplies itself, for those who possess least practice are precisely those most anxious to get pupils; also in the inverse ratio to the number engaged is the average of practical experience. Diminish the number of practitioners and I warrant the profession will rise in public estimation and general ability." (1)

When the issue came to a head again in 1860, the Civil Engineer and Architect made the point more specifically that the younger architects were in a very weak market situation compared with those already established.

> "The senior members of the profession could not be expected at first to be anxious for such a change. Men of experience are wisely reluctant to make any fundamental change in a system of which the working is familiar to them under existing circumstances; they too are by their standing free from the annoyance justly complained of by their juniors, that of being exposed to competition with un-educated and incompetent men, who bring the name and calling of architect into disrepute." (2)

Significantly, the editorial avoided any reference to the financial interest senior architects might have had in the current pupilage arrangements - a system which was being partially undermined by suggestions that the proper training of an architect should include some systematic coursework.

Thus, while the pupil architects stood to gain in terms of a mark of competence, their seniors had most to loose, both in terms of the general threat to the lucrative educational system of pupilage and of a possible exposure of their own knowledge and skills vis a vis that required for the proposed examination preceding the diploma.

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(1) The Builder, vol. 14, 1856, p. 30. Letter from "Philalethes".

(2) Civil Engineer and Architect. Editorial. vol. 23, 1860, p. 100.

However, such a simplification of the contending parties, by contemporaries and later by Kaye, does not do full justice to the differing interests amongst senior and younger architects, as well as between them. Within the broad category of senior architects there were those who were more or less successful in obtaining clients and sought-after work, there were those subject to the market conditions of the metropolis and those working in the provinces, and lastly, but by no means least importantly, there were those holding offices, mainly associational but also educational, whose experiences, perceptions and interests would have been rather different from other principals. Amongst the younger architects there was the important division between pupils and assistants, those entering the profession with very strong expectations of becoming independent principals and those with far less hope of leaving the subordinate position of assistant or draughtsman. But here again the lines of interest were crossed by the more and the less successful.

Looking at the divisions amongst younger architects first, we might have supposed that the architectural assistant or draughtsman would have been as much in favour of opportunities to extend his education and obtain a public mark of recognition as the pupil architects, if not more so. (1) However, as "Alpha", a correspondent to the Building News pointed out, the assistant was often ambivalent, he

> "....Would like something to be done; but finds so many conflicting interests to reconcile which must be accomplished without offending senior members, that he feels disheartened and screens himself behind a protest that may screen him hereafter." (2)

Lacking independent finances and social connections and without the promise even of articles as a hallmark, he was all the more dependent on employment by an established architect.

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(1) Particularly if we remember that they established for themselves the Association of Architectural Draughtsmen, which was subsequently incorporated into the A.A. See historical Appendix.

(2) Building News. vol. 6, 1860, p. 666.

We are finding that the category of "younger architects" is differentiated in several ways; there are those who have undergone pupilage, who, by and large, have more favourable market and work expectations than those who have been unable to afford the premiums and have entered an architect's office as an assistant. But, as we have seen earlier, there were pupils who subsequently found it difficult or impossible to establish themselves independently and remained as assistants or draughtsmen, and there were those who started off as assistants, but who subsequently set up in practice independently. (1) Therefore, the lines of interest between pupil and assistant would shade off as between the more and less successful.

Such a distinction between the interests of the successful and the less successful can also be drawn for "senior" architects, as Professor Donaldson indicated in a presidential address at the Institute some years later,

> "There is so much of business mixed up with the artistic portion of our profession, that often does patronage or chance or even the varying incompetency of committees or Patrons, or cunning, win the premium from the more deserving. The very tendency, as in the other professions, to throw everything, good or bad, great or little into the hands of a very few who may stand at the top of the tree, prevents the fair distribution of employment, which would foster rising talent and reward other meritorious members." (2)

There are suggestions that it was the least successful practitioners who were the most dependent on pupilage as a source of income. (3) Charles Dickens has an intriguing caricature in Martin Chuzzlewitt of "Pecksniff, Architect and Land Surveyor" who, by choice or compulsion, derived most of his livelihood from the premiums of pupils,

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(1) See above p. 67 for the use of these terms.

(2) Transactions of the Institute of British Architects. 1863-4, p. 7.

(3) See above p. 72.

> "Of his architectural doings, nothing was clearly known, except that he had never designed or built anything; but it was generally understood that his knowledge of the science was almost aweful in its profundity."
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> "Mr. Pecksniff's professional engagements, indeed, were almost, if not entirely, confined to the reception of pupils; for the collection of rents, with which pursuit he occasionally varied and relieved his graver toils, can hardly be said to be strictly architectural employment. His genius lay in ensnaring parents and guardians, and pocketing premiums." (1)

Success or failure in the market for services was undoubtedly linked to many factors; individual merit would have been rewarded either in the metropolis or the provinces, but there do seem to be general differences in the market situations. (2) It is not quite clear whether these were associated with different absolute demand for services or whether architects in the provinces tended to be less exclusionist than those in London. However, although provincial architects pressed hard for educational reform, alongside younger architects, later in the century, they do not seem to have held particularly strong feelings over this issue at this period, since they specifically left the decision to the Institute when circulated for their opinions. (3)

Many senior architects may have been highly suspicious of changes in the educational system, but the fact that the R.I.B.A. Council took up the issue at all indicated that there were some senior architects who saw it as a relevant strategy. (4)

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(1) Jenkins op. cit. p. 161

(2) Jenkins (op. cit. p. 164) suggested it was easier to set up practice in the provinces than the metropolis.

(3) The Liverpool Architectural Society is reported to have been rent by considerable differences on this issue. See below p. 78.

(4) Discussion of those seniors favouring educational developments will be limited almost entirely to office bearers of the Institute, and the Liverpool Architectural Society. This is not to imply that there were no other senior architects who were in favour. Rather that it was almost impossible to identify them structurally from the limited material available in the periodicals.

In introducing the issue at the Institute for the first time, Mr. Tite found it appropriate to argue comparatively, echoing the fears of competition first voiced by the President of the Architectural Association;

> "As Mr. Bailey had said, if they were exposed to competition, that competition could only be met by showing that architects possessed superior attainments beyond the reach of those with whom they had to compete for public favour." (p. 1).....
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> "Formerly, the architect and engineer were not separated out as at present.....and if the engineer had gone ahead of the architect in later times, it was the fault of the architects themselves. They were quite able to help themselves.....The difficulty he had referred to was to be met simply by superior attainments on the part of architects, bearing in mind that in Engineering men would always be estimated in proportion to their practical ability." (1)

It is interesting to note that the competition referred to here is with civil engineers and not merely with builders and measurers, an area of competition that Kaye completely neglects. (2)

If, as many contemporaries indicated and Kaye has accepted, the interest of most senior architects was in maintaining the lucrative pupilage system, we have to explain why it was that certain senior architects in key positions at the Institute favoured educational developments. It seems reasonable to suggest that, although they may have shared similar market and work experiences with other established members of the Institute, by virtue of holding office in the association, their perspective might have broadened, taking in the variety of interests amongst architects and comparing them as a whole with other occupational groupings.

Unlike younger architects, we might suppose that an established architect such as Mr. Tite would be prompted less by the harsh realities of immediate personal market problems and more by the opportunities and interest which his official position would have given him for an overview of the competitive

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(1) Transactions of the Institute of British Architects. 1855-6 p. 4.

(2) Until the second to last page of his book!

situation of architects as a whole compared with rival occupational groupings. (1) Indeed any successful architect may have felt sufficiently secure to see beyond his own immediate work and market and indeed status problems to those of the wider occupational grouping of architects, however embryonic it still was at this time. Yet, it is also worth pointing out that, while some individuals may have enjoyed considerable economic success and personal esteem, they may have suffered from the disrepute with which the title architect was associated in the first half of the nineteenth century. Such a status problem could only be solved collectively.

The divisions between senior and younger architects - the associational arena.

The degree of exploitation of young architects undergoing pupilage, their poor educational facilities and the resulting weak market situation vis a vis senior and established architects was not the only source of conflict between older and younger architects. There is evidence of growing antagonism between senior and younger architects at the Institute, between those granted power in the 1835 constitution, as Fellows, and those denied it, the Associates. (2) The weak parties in the work/market arena and the associational arena were unlikely to have been the same architects, although there may have been some overlap and, more than likely, a degree of sympathy.

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(1) Professor Donaldson provides us with an even more complicated case, for he held both associational and educational positions during this period. He was the first Secretary of the Institute in the mid 1830's and was created Professor of Civil Engineering at University College, London in 1841. Later, in early 1860's he became President of the Institute.

(2) It should be pointed out that this hostility is referred to only in the Building News; but as Kaye quotes this journal as the only source of (reports of) similar hostilities between associates and fellows in 1886, when the Architectural Society was set up by Associates leaving the Institute, it seems reasonable to attribute a degree of reliability to it. See above p. 48.

The suggestion by the Council of the Institute in May 1860 that the voluntary examination should be confined to "present Associates and future Fellows" of the Institute, present Fellows being exempted or given honorary pass status, with the Council and office bearers being the examiners, seems to have sparked off deep seated antagonism, as the Building News reports.

> "The moral of the Diploma Debate: there is a smouldering although deadly feud between the Fellows and Associates of the Institute which sooner or later if unchecked will prove disasterous to that society. There was much talk during the debate of an alteration of the charter..... the sooner it sets about it the better it will be for an old established, royally endowed comfortable club of highly respectable gentlemen." (1)

Structurally derived hostilities do not appear to have been confined to the London based Institute; they seem to have been generated also in the Liverpool Society, which was seen by some as second in influence only to the London associations. The Building News reported that towards the end of 1860 Associate and student members of the Society voted against the proposed examination by as much as 14-1, after it had been approved by the Society as a whole. (2) Their resolution to request the Society to withdraw its approval was seen by one of the officials, Mr. Boult as "very like a threat". However, the younger members obtained support from a Mr. Hard who said that "three professional members were dictating to the whole of the society" - i.e. Mr. Boult, the Chairman and the Secretary. It is not clear from reports in the Building News how the issue was finally settled, although this meeting was closed on a conciliatory note. These issues, illustrate the cross cutting interests which seem to have arisen in different arenas.

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(1) Report of debate at Institute. Building News, vol. 6 1860, p. 530.

(2) Building News, vol. 6, 1860, p. 891-2.

(c) Alternative institutional arrangements in the development of an examination system.

Controversy centred not merely on the general principle of whether there was to be an examination or a diploma or not, but what combination of educational developments was desirable. (1) For those concerned primarily with a hall mark, an examination and diploma was sufficient; but there were those who felt that such signs were meaningless unless preceded by a more thorough education than currently existed. The proposal for an examination was by no means straightforward: there were strong arguments in favour of a voluntary examination, and equally persuasive ones favouring a compulsory one; the question as to who was to be eligible to take the proposed examination generated a tremendous amount of heat - was it to be open only to members of the Institute and, if so, was it to be aimed at Fellows, or Associates, or both? Or was it to be allowed to persons approved of by the Council of the Institute? Or, was it, daringly, to be opened up to all comers, with all the worrying possibilities that undesirable elements, such as builders, might subsequently be able to pass themselves off honourably as architects? A considerable number of people came down in favour of examinations, only in so far as they specifically excluded the design element. But, to emphasise the technical constructional aspects to their skills laid architects open to greater competition with builders and engineers.

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(1) For examples of reports of debates covering these issues cf:

Building News, vol. 2, 1856 p. 38.
Building News, vol. 6, 1860, p. 916
Transactions of the Institute of British Architects, 1855-6, Nov. 19th 1855, p. 23.
Papers read at the R.I.B.A. vol. 5, 1860-61.
Appendix - Architectural Examinations - Special General Meeting. 14.1.1861, p. 1-5.

(d) Educational institutions - to what end and with what justifications?

As we have seen the controversy extended beyond a mere confrontation between senior architects and students over the pupilage system, and the principle of whether an examination was desirable or not became complicated by arguments over the means of institutionalising such a strategy. What were the contending groupings hoping to achieve by such strategy? What were the terms in which those with conflicting interests, favouring different combinations of institutional arrangements, argued out their cases?

Kaye has suggested that the controversy was waged in terms of the artistic and the professional viewpoints. I would argue that such a dichotomy is too simple; it concentrates on institutional means and neglects the variety of ends sought. It ignores an associated, but somewhat different, comparison that contemporaries were making concerning the fundamental attributes of architecture and architects, rather than the organisation of occupational practice, namely, the comparison between architecture as an art or a science. Not only were architects at this period seeking to secure their markets, not only were they concerned with improving their social standing; some of them were more concerned with an ideal, with striving for a more fully developed architect, whether his skills were primarily artistic or technical. Some contemporaries described this type of division of aim as between "exclusionists" and "educationalists". (1)

The "exclusionist" stance can be illustrated by a letter to The Builder in 1869. If the diploma, the author argues, is to give,

> "The stamp of respectability and status....even many present so-called architects, in the persons of builders, auctioneers and house agents and the like must be excluded, and the architect of the future must be a purely professional man, in no way mixed up with trading....the aim of such laws would be to raise the tone and status of the profession, in respectability as well as competency...But when architects are artists and gentlemen in the true sense of the word, then will our art revive." (2)

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(1) A distinction made by Mr. Bloomfield, at a meeting of the Architectural Association, reported by Building News, vol. 6, 1860, p. 189

(2) The Builder, vol. 18, 1860, p. 646.

Distinct from this was the stance of an influential group, said to have been led by Mr. Robert Kerr, one of the founders of the Architectural Association, whose main concern was to improve educational facilities and standards and whose concern extended beyond an examination or diploma to the development of systematic educational facilities to supplement pupilage. Such educational developments, of course, were also likely to have significantly beneficial effects on market and status aspirations. This position was summed up by Robert Kerr,

> "They were not in want of a diploma to distinguish the regular from the irregular practitioner; what they wanted was education to show obviously the superiority of those who were properly educated and the inferiority of those who were not so educated." (1)

Kaye has outlined his perception of the contending parties and their rationales, indicating that any notion of a simple dichotomy between conflicting ideologies, the artistic and the professional, must be modified after all in terms of differing interests.

> "It is important to realise that the opposition that this proposal (to a diploma) stimulated did not consist entirely of a protest from the artist-architects, although there is no doubt that they were not in favour of an examination. Since they held that the talent for architectural design was innate..... a test of technical skill was of little value without reference to the artistic capacity of the student....Moreover, pupilage was essentially a form of instruction belonging to the artistic tradition. If the artist could learn anything of value to the development of his art, it was held that he could only learn it from long personal contact with a master. Hence the whole idea of class learning and mutual instruction fostered by the A.A. was suspect.
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> At the same time, the ideal of an examination was not unanimously acclaimed by the professionals. Although a movement towards a more rigorous closure of the profession could not be but approved in these quarters, the possibility that the system of pupilage was there by endangered, caused great concern. It was suggested that a diploma might be used as a substitute for the endorsement of articles, an unwelcome prospect for those whose incomes largely depended on the premiums paid by pupils." (2)

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(1) Robert Kerr. A.A. Meeting, Nov. 1860, Building News. vol. 6, 1860 p. 943.

(2) Kaye op. cit. p. 104-5.

Such an outline of a range of positions taken up by architects, from those committed to a belief in the artistic or professional viewpoint, even at a cost, to those prepared to use available notions in their own interests, is remarkably similar to an outline offered by The Builder, summing up stances towards the end of the controversy; it is very similar yet significantly different, for it contrasts artistic not with professional, but with technical, not with a means of organisation, but with a notion of core occupational skills.

> "There are some who hold that the profession requires so much of technical knowledge that the general public ought to be protected from the ignorance of pretenders by a compulsory examination, others hold that this is so entirely a fine art, like painting or literature, as to be exempt even from the possibility of an examination; and others again, not quite admitting this view, hold that the ordinary modes of testing the capacity and power of an aspirant after architectural practice by enquiry into the education he has received and the opportunities he has received of learning his profession, afford safeguard enough." (1)

Architecture as art or science

What sort of distinctions were nineteenth century architects making when they referred to architecture as a science or an art, or some combination of both elements? As Kaye and Carr-Saunders and Wilson have pointed out, to make a dual claim is certainly unique amongst occupations, but does such a claim imply that our usually dichotomised notions of art and science have to be altered for architecture, or does it mean that architecture, fundamentally, is a paradoxical activity? (2) In the first instance notions of science and art must be seen in their nineteenth century rather than twentieth century context. Science was seen more as a body of techniques, in the context of the building field, than an established body of theory. (3) Notions such as the "science of construction" and "construction techniques", seemed to be used interchangeably

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(1) The Builder, vol. 20, 1862 p. 852.
In all fairness to Kaye, he does refer to the unique combination of "technical knowledge, artistic insight" which architects claim, but he never relates it to his artistic-professional dichotemy.

(2) Carr-Saunders and Wilson, op. cit. p. 180. Kaye op. cit. p 23.

(3) Personal communication.

in this debate, while the term science like art was used in a highly general manner. (1) The notion of art too has to be seen rather differently, particularly in the context of architecture, for although reference was made and claims based on the idea of individual creative insight, it was insight exercised within the relatively circumscribed framework of currently fashionable styles. It bears more relation to the performance of a work of music than its creation.

Therefore, we have somewhat different cognitive categories available to individuals participating in this debate - notions of architecture as an art or a science, as a fine art or a profession. Depending on the notion of architecture espoused - and they could be seen as ~~forming a continuum~~ parallel distinctions between, ~~with~~ science and art, profession and fine art ~~at either end~~ - different means were seen as appropriate to achieving the different ends, of market or status goals or the development of an architectural expertise. As Kaye has pointed out, examinations were utterly irrelevant, indeed damaging to inspiration, for those seeing architecture as an art; for those perceiving it as a science it was quite the reverse. It is particularly difficult to trace the relationships between the different rationales offered and structurally based interest, between the general goals and the more specific goals advocated. However, it does seem possible to suggest that those concerned primarily with educational goals - amongst these we find people holding, or later to hold, the few educational posts, as well as the younger architects - are most likely to hold a range of views of architecture, while those mainly concerned with market and status goals are likely to take a more middle of the road position. For the more pragmatically oriented architects, perceiving architecture as a fine art would be extremely costly in terms of potential disagreement with clients, as Kaye has pointed out. While towards the other extreme, seeing architecture as primarily the science of construction would place them in a position of closer and more potentially dangerous competition with builders and civil engineers. So they were more likely to see architecture as a combination of art and science and entirely amenable to new professional types of institutionalisation.

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(1) See below p. 87 for illusions to science and art in a comparative context.

(e) Occupational reference groups - the aspect of the controversy missed by Kaye.

While Kaye's model is based on "viewpoints" or ideological positions derived from the specific situation and problems of architects vis a vis their clients, the strategic model is far more open ended, anticipating that legitimations may be derived from a variety of sources. Indeed the use of, or even the failure to use other occupations as reference groups, as the models for new strategies and the opportunity for evaluating their effectiveness, is particularly salient to my model. It was particularly striking, even at a first glance at Kaye's primary sources, that scarcely an editorial or paper, scarcely a speech or letter went by without some reference to the activities of other occupations deemed comparable. This ongoing process of comparison amongst British occupations was paralleled with frequent references to the institutions developed by architects in other countries, in Prussia and France in particular. As in the case of the stances relating to architecture as an art or a science (and frequently they were combined), comparisons with other occupations and other countries were used to support or reject the current educational issue, to promote one type of institutional arrangement at the expense of another. (Unfortunately, as in the previous section, it has been easier to outline the different stances than to associate them specifically with any particular structually based groupings.) We find that reference groups are used both rhetorically and in a rationally calculating manner in the debate. So we have to examine their usage with an open mind, not necessarily expecting them to be mere rhetoric and yet not to be taken too seriously.

The use made of reference groups by R.I.B.A. office bearers.

We have already seen that comparison was at the heart of the early discussions of the diploma. The comparative market situation of architects vis a vis engineers was a central concern of Mr. Tite when he first outlined the suggestions at the Institute. In this initial discussion he gave details of the diploma system in Prussia and this was followed at the very next

meeting by discussion of the French experience. Therefore, it is not surprising that comparison should also extend to other occupations in England, stressing positive association with such occupations as medicine and the law rather than disassociation from either engineers or builders and measurers.

When the Council of the Institute eventually put forward their proposals for a voluntary examination in 1860, the justification they offered for such a significant development on the education front referred very specifically to similar developments in other occupational areas;

> "It has now become an established rule, both with the government authorities and with the heads of learned professions, that candidates for admission into any branch of the public service, civil, naval or military, or for participation in the rights and privileges enjoyed by the several denominations of private professional men, should undergo an examination to test their capacities to discharge of the positions they may desire to occupy. In divinity and medicine this rule is of long standing, but the application of it to branches of the legal profession is comparatively recent.....
> Cogniscent of these facts, the Council of this Institute have felt the imperative necessity that the architectural profession should no longer be the only one to be assumed at any rate nominally, with all its heavy responsibilities, by the mere ignorant though bold pretender." (1)

Social status aims - seen in a comparative context.

Although the market situation and its amelioration seemed to be quite explicitly uppermost in the mind of Mr. Tite, (and the younger architects), in the early proposals, later proposals from the Institute seemed to be infused with more general aims of "gaining respect", of being seen to possess or require "the education of a gentleman", in short with a greater emphasis on social status aims. For example, in 1862, just before the examination was established, the R.I.B.A. Council justified their stand thus,

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(1) The Builder, 1860, vol. 18, p. 262. Report of the R.I.B.A. Council session.

> "The system has been found to answer so well with legal and medical men, with the soldier, sailor and diplomatist, with in fact every rank where the education of a gentleman is expected as well as the ability of a professional man - that there seems little doubt that this examination, if carried out with judgement and good feeling, must advance the British Architect in popular respect and social status." (1)

And at a meeting of the Architectural Association, Mr. Arthur Ashpitel, who had been given special responsibility for dealing with the diploma question by the R.I.B.A. Council, argued in a similar, if very general vein,

> ...."Almost anything that may tend to elevate the character of professional men in the eyes of the world and to give them a better status amongst their fellows, must conduce to promote a higher and more intellectual one to society at large." (2)

Educational development as a means of attaining status goals.

The editor of the Civil Engineer and Architect found educational developments similarly appropriate, if social standing was aspired to,

> ...."and if it be felt desirable to assist the social status of a rising profession, no method seems more appropriate than adopting preliminary examinations of the class which have long preceded admission to the learned professions, and are now being adopted for the army and navy." (3)

After extensive comparisons with other professions, medicine, law and pharmacy, and with the civil service, an editorial in The Builder gave rousing support to such status aspirations,

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(1) The Builder, vol. 20, 1862, p. 455.
(2) Civil Engineer and Architect, vol. 23, 1862, p. 308
(3) Civil Engineer and Architect, vol. 23, 1860, p. 110.

> "But there is no disguising the fact that, in spite of the exertions of various architectural bodies, the professions of that science do not seem to be recognised as a society as they ought to be. At any rate the word architect is not the password here that it is abroad.... One thing we are quite sure of, if the whole body assume a higher status in society, they certainly will find themselves in an advanced position ere long. This is one of the great advantages the system of education offers. It not only must be valuable in a professional point of view, but it must be of the greatest use in showing other professions and to the whole world in general, that the architect has received the education of a gentleman. Let every rising man, then, who has the love for his art and respect for his profession, assist in our endeavours to elevate both in the eyes of the public." (1)

And there were others who could be found to be arguing against the relevance and utility of such comparisons. At a meeting of the Architectural Association in 1860 Mr. Blomfield could be found arguing,

> "Architecture is composed of two different but very important elements, namely art and science, and those two elements take it out of comparison with all other professions, notwithstanding the utility of examinations in other professions." (2)

Even if the relevance of such comparisons was seen as appropriate there was the occasional voice, and it was very occasional, which questioned the general assessment that examinations had in fact been effective for other occupations. The Building News, as so often, threw the cold water, in typically graphic terms,

> "If therefore compulsory examinations, keeping terms, and certificates heaped on certificates cannot keep such unclean animals as quacks out of these professions especially charged with the protection of a man's material interests - his body and his spiritual requirements - how can a voluntary examination and honorary diplomas keep them out of a profession charged with the construction of his shell on earth?" (3)

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(1) The Builder, vol. 20, 1862, p. 867.

(2) Building News, vol. 6, 1860, p. 916.
This, incidentally, is a view shared by such objective observers as Carr-Saunders & Wilson, arrived at after comparison with a great range of other occupations, and by Kaye after the most detailed sociological study of the history of occupational development amongst architects.
See above p. 82.

(3) Building News (editorial) vol. 3, 1856, p. 50.

Just as different notions of architecture as an art or a science, and particularly as a fine art or a profession, had implications for the institutional means regarded as appropriate, so divergent perceptions indicated different reference groups. As an aspect totally neglected by Kaye this merits a more extensive treatment. Suffice to say that, although I have separated out the notions of art and science, art and profession, in the debates they are inextricably entwined, as some of the contemporary quotations have indicated.

(f) In summary

Using the strategic model as a framework for examining the Diploma issue, we have been led beyond Kaye's limited notion of viewpoints to see a much wider range of social phenomena as salient. We have incorporated structurally based interests, the variety of ideological notions that are available for use as legitimations, and the interoccupational frame of reference used in evolving and assessing potential strategies.

In trying to map out the range of structural differences we were left not with a clear cut division between senior and younger architects, but a far more complex situation in which the boundaries of groupings were not clear cut and interests were cutting across such boundaries as there were. Rather than focusing on dichotomised ideological positions, our framework has been considerably more open ended, pointing to a range of stands and legitimations, associated with plurality of ends and a variety of means. Most of these differences were couched in comparative terms, an aspect which Kaye neglected entirely.

HISTORICAL APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

1. EARLY ASSOCIATIONAL ACTIVITY:

1831 Architectural Society founded
by young architects concerned with educational developments.

1834 Committee of Architect-Surveyors (referred to by contemporaries as "the Society of Architects and Surveyors") put forward proposals for the founding of an institute. These included the establishment of a library, the reading of essays etc., but no mention was made of a code of conduct or the controversial suggestion of dividing the architectural design and the measuring functions. (Kaye p. 75).

Committee of Architects (referred to by contemporaries as "the Society of British Architects")
founded to produce counter proposals:
(1) membership to be much stricter - Fellows to have practiced at least five years
- Associates to submit to examination
(2) proposed a code of conduct under which membership would be refused to measurers or any with an interest in the building trade.

Society of British Architects outmanoeuvred architect-surveyor rivals. (Kaye 78-9)
sponsored the establishment of:

1835 Institute of British Architects
"founded for facilitating the acquirement of architectural knowledge, for the promotion of the different branches of science connected therewith, and for establishing an uniformity and respectibility of practice in the profession." (quoted Kaye p. 80)

3 types of membership -
Fellows, with at least 7 consecutive years practice of "Civil Architecture"
Associates to have practiced or studied for less than 7 years and over 21 years of age.
Honorary members, "noblemen" contributing £25 or more, and "gentlemen unconnected with any branch of building as trade or business", contributing a similar sum.

Fellows only had power to vote at meetings; from their number the executive Council and Officers were to be elected. They judged professional conduct.
Regulations enforced dissociation from measuring and forbade economic collusion with builders:

cf. "If at any time there shall appear cause for the expulsion of any fellow or Associate, either for having engaged since his election in the measurement, valuation or estimation of any works undertaken by any building

artificer, except such as are proposed to be executed under the member's own designs or directions; or for the receipt or acceptance of any pecuniary consideration or emolument from any builder or tradesman whose work he may have been engaged to superintend; or for having any interest in, or participation with, any trade contact, or materials supplied at any works, the execution whereof he may be or have been engaged to superintend; or for any conduct which, in the opinion of the Council, shall be derogatory to his character as a gentleman in the practice of his profession....." (quoted Kaye p. 81)

1837 Royal Charter of Incorporation
granted, due to the good offices of the first President, Earl de Gray. (Institute styles itself Royal from then on, although such a right was not officially granted until 1866)..... (quoted Kaye p. 82)

1842 Association of Architectural Draughtsmen founded.
(cf educational developments)

1847 Architectural Association founded
(cf educational developments)

1862 Architectural Alliance established
an alliance of provincial associations.
(cf Associations in the Provinces).

1871 R.I.B.A. held first General Conference of Architects
(cf Associations in Provinces).

2. ASSOCIATIONS SPREAD TO THE PROVINCES.

1835 Liverpool Society for Promoting the Study of Architecture and Engineering
founded by "junior architects and engineers," to "promote diffusion of a taste for the Fine Arts and Sciences" and "to raise their Professions to their proper rank in the estimation of society" (quoted by Kaye p. 89)
There were suggestions for a library, the exchange of designs and a school of architecture, but not for a code of conduct.
Membership was not exclusive to architects - engineers or gentlemen especially were eligible.
Subsequently it disappeared.

1837 Architectural Society in Manchester
its membership was more exclusive than the Liverpool association.
Disappeared in 1845.

1839 Institute of Architects of Ireland founded.
Very exclusive. cf. "most rigid discrimination in the selection of members must be exercised, as there were numerous pretenders, by whose ignorance and presumption discredit had been in too many instances case on our profession". (quoted from opening address, Kaye p. 89)

1840 Institute of Architects of Scotland formed.

1848 Liverpool Architectural Society founded.
Not exclusive to Architects till 1875.

1850 Bristol Society of Architects
originally included engineers, surveyors, builders.
1851 builders excluded.

1858 Northern Architectural Association founded

1862 Nottingham Architectural Society founded

1862 Architectural Alliance established
between several northern societies.

1871 R.I.B.A. held the first General Conference of Architects.
(conferences held at 2-3 yearly intervals thereafter until 1887.)
A code to regulate architectural competitions (1872) and a revised scale of charges were the outcome.
(Kaye p. 91)

1887 Sheffield Society of Architects and Surveyors established.

1889 R.I.B.A. bye-law re Alliance
enabled it to enter into "alliance" with other architectural societies within or without Britain.

3. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

1831 Architectural Society founded
by "young architects" (Kaye p. 75, 63) to establish educational facilities.

1842 Architectural Society merged with R.I.B.A.
The facilities it had offered for regular meetings of an educational nature were discontinued.
N.B. R.I.B.A. undertook very little concerning education except the odd lecture.
(other lectures could be followed at the Royal Academy, London University-King's and University College).

1842 Association of Architectural Draughtsmen
founded by "young draughtsmen". (Kaye p. 95)
Summerson tells us it was set up by the chief Draughtsman of one of London's busiest offices, and his associates were, "The Tom Pinches (the very superior Tom Pinches) of the Metropolis".
(Sir John Summerson, The Architectural Association. Pleiades Books Ltd., London 1947 p. 14)
Its central aim was mutual educational improvement, also specimens were kept of current draughtsmanship, an employment register was set up and a Benevolent Fund for unfortunate draughtsmen.

1847 Architectural Association formed.
With support from The Builder, Charles Gray, an "architectural student", and Robert Kerr proposed an association which subsequently merged with The Association of Architectural Draughtsmen. It promoted educational self help through lectures and discussions.

1855. A.A. President proposed a diploma for architects.

1863 R.I.B.A. Voluntary Architectural Examination
Following considerable controversy (see detailed historical outline "The Diploma Question"), the R.I.B.A. established an examination but no diploma - very few people entered for it.

1860's A.A. established classes for Design, Construction and practice
regular and successful.

1869 Architectural Alliance survey on education
Their most important general finding was that pupilage was still almost the universal mode of architectural education. They proposed qualifying examination for Associate membership of the Institute.

1877 R.I.B.A. bye-law recommending compulsory examination for Associateship
it followed considerable discussion.

1882 First examination for R.I.B.A. Associateship
This examination proved successful.

1887 General Conference of Architects,
suggested the examination for Associateship should be progressive and organised by R.I.B.A. Kaye p. 130

1890 First stage of R.I.B.A. progressive examination held.

1904 R.I.B.A. Board of Architectural Education established to control education
Day schools established; the B.A.E. maintained control by requiring them to be "recognised" by themselves after inspection.

1945 R.I.B.A. Special Committee on Architectural Education
advocated full time school education for all recruits.

4. REGULATION OF THE COMPETITION SYSTEM

1838 R.I.B.A. set up committee
to examine "Public Competitions for Architectural Designs" - nothing came of it.

1850 Architectural Association Report on Competitions
The first time a code had been outlined.

1871 R.I.B.A. established committee
to look into competitions, on the instigation of the General Conference of Architects.

1872 Code of Practice for Architectural Competitions
established.

5. MOVES TOWARDS REGISTRATION

1884 Society of Architects
formed by break away R.I.B.A. Associates.
The Initial impetus came from their lack of voting power vis a vis Fellows.
It became the centre of support for the proposals of the statutory registration of all architects.

1889 Architects' Registration Bill
(read in House of Commons)
supported by Society of Architects and publically disclaimed by R.I.B.A.
Memorialists letter to the Times, commencing,
"We, the undersigned, desire to record our opinion that the attempt to make Architecture a closed profession, either by the Bill now introduced into Parliament or by any similar measure, is opposed to the interest of Architecture as a fine Art....."
(quoted Kaye p. 138)

1906 Registration became the official policy of R.I.B.A.
It was opposed by some Associates who feared a dilution of standards.
Licentiate membership proposed, an interim compromise pressed for by Allied Societies.

1925/6 Groups of architect cum surveyors formed associations to fight policy of exclusion, founded the - Incorporated Association of Architects and ~~the~~ Surveyors and Faculty of Architects and Surveyors.

1931 Registration Act
R.I.B.A. deprived of control over a Register - control given to a new independent body, The Architects' Registration Council of the United Kingdom. (A.R.C.U.K.)
Registration to be voluntary.
Legal protection of the title "Registered Architect" only established.

1938 Further Registration Act
protected the title "architect".

THE DIPLOMA QUESTION

1855

Oct. The President of the Architectural Association raised the suggestion of an Architectural Diploma.

Nov. Fellows of the Institute, Mr. William Tite and Mr. John Papworth, led discussions on the Diploma issue at the Institute.

1856

May The Council of the Institute reported to the A.G.M. that no decision had yet been reached on the Diploma question.
Under the terms of the Metropolitan Building Act, the R.I.B.A. was to examine candidates for the office of district surveyor; "this duty will enable them, after a sufficient experience of such examinations to come to a sounder judgement than they can at present on the subject of the diploma." (Civil Engineer and Architect, vol. 19, p. 267)

No further reports of developments relating to the Diploma Question, in the Journals examined, until 1860.

1860

March R.I.B.A. reported by The Builder to be setting up a Committee to consider facilities for voluntary examination.

May Institute outlines proposals:
June "that it was desirable to afford an opportunity for a voluntary professional examination."
To start with the voluntary examination would be for "present Associates and future Fellows of the Institute", ultimately, it would be a compulsory examination for all architects.

In the first instance they proposed:

(i) elementary examination for students and Associates over 25 years of age including,
- pure and applied mathematics
- land surveying
- mensuration
- geology
- ordinary construction and materials
- drawing
- styles of architecture
- history, languages, chemistry

(ii) higher examination for those above 25 years of age and intending Fellows including,
-

- architectural jurisprudence
- The Building Act
- sanitary requirements
- history of architecture
- theory of the beautiful
- analysis of styles of art
- architecture, composition and literature
- theory of construction of arches, domes, bridges - besides the use of iron.

Examiners - President, present and past Vice-Presidents, Council.

(Building News, vol. 6, 1860, p. 367).

1860
July Debate at the Institute

Building News reported that no progress was made re Council's proposals of May. (Vol. 6, p. 29-30) Comments,
"That the collective body of the Institute look with little favour or with downright distrust on the propositions of the Council seems very evident from the utter apathy of the members to their proceedings." There were only about 15 speakers in a small audience of 40-50. It predicted that the Diploma question would die like the Competition issue in 1851.
"moral of the Diploma debate; there is a smoldering though deadly feud between the Fellows and Associates of the Institute.... "

July Proposals circulated round other associations (e.g. A.A.) and provincial associations.

Dec. Council excuse continuing delay in taking a decision, but they have not yet had reply from A.A. and Scottish bodies.

1861
Jan. Special General Meeting held at the Institute to consider the Architectural Examination. (Papers read at the Institute, vol. 5, Session 1860-61, p. 1-)

It was reported that comments had been received from a number of provincial associations, Birmingham, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, the Northern Societies and the Architectural Association in London. It was generally concluded, "that it was desirable to afford the opportunity for a voluntary examination."

A considerable amount of discussion then centred on who should be eligible for the examination; some felt that only members of the Institute should be allowed to sit it. Finally a resolution was agreed to by Council, put

to the vote and passed,
"That the examination be open to any British subject; and that candidates not members of the R.I.B.A., do produce a recommendation signed by those members of the Institute (one of them being a Fellow) and subscribe a declaration of intention to practice as architects in accordance with the usual rules of the Institute." p. 7.

(Declaration signed by Associates of the Institute)

"I..... do hereby declare that I am engaged in the study of Civil Architecture, and have attained the age twenty one years: that I will not receive or accept of any pecuniary consideration or emolument from any builder or tradesman, whose works I may be engaged to superintend: and that I will not have any interest or participation in any trade contract or materials, supplied at any works, the execution of which I may be engaged to superintend....."p.4)

Final amendment moved by Mr. Robert Kerr, which was seconded,
"That the Council be instructed to proceed with the preparation of a curriculum and bye-laws, and be recommended to appoint a committee to this end, and to report to a general meeting." p. 7.
The Committee was to include Council and non Council members.

1861
Feb. The idea of a diploma itself was "almost universally condemned and the intent of establishing a sort of standard of knowledge, with a view to promoting the better education of the rising architect, is the only object, <u>just now</u> aimed at."
Civil Engineer & Architect, vol. 24, p. 57.

1862
Nov. Examination details finally agreed upon.

1863
Jan. First voluntary examination held.

For a historical resume in table form, see pocket in binding at the end of the thesis.

CHAPTER IV

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CHAPTER IV

(i) General Introduction

The research reported in the following two chapters is not intended as a definitive history of the occupation of architecture since the Second World War, or even of the more limited period of approximately ten years (1954-64), which it covers in greater detail. (1) Rather, it is an attempt to understand certain developments, perceived both by actors and by myself as critical, in terms of my strategic model of occupational institutionalization.

While determined to move beyond the traditional structural approach to occupational institutionalization and focus on an actor oriented model, there is room in my approach for the type of overview offered by Hughes. Such an overview, developed by a researcher outside the occupation, can be particularly useful in summarising the historical development and current situation of an occupation relative to other institutions or publics. For, in spite of internal differentiation, there are forces for unity within an occupational area; the very existence of a common occupational title sustains a common interest, while mobility between locales mitigates against the development of too rigid a differentiation. (2)

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(1) The material in this section is drawn from documentary sources; R.I.B.A. publications, Government reports, journals, etc., and from interviews with architects who were particularly active during this period, (cf. Appendix II) and from a small survey of private practices (cf. Appendix III).

(2) See below p. 124 the common interest in dispelling any general perception of the architect undertaking dull, routine work.

Hughes has suggested that an occupation is based on claims to "license" and "mandate"; "license to carry out certain activities which others may not and mandate to define what is proper conduct of others towards the matters concerned with their work". (1) Such claims may be more or less extensive and more or less clearly accepted by rival occupations, by clients and by society as a whole.

The development of "the architectural profession" in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as traced in the last chapter, emerges as a history of claims to certain skills and procedures, the credibility of which was backed up by institutionalised means for guaranteeing competence and integrity. Inevitably there was a high degree of fluidity in the developments, disparate claims were made, rival occupational groups challenged the claims to exclusive jurisdiction and clients with-held credibility by preferring other, rival, sources of skill. However, by the end of the nineteen thirties a point was reached by which certain jurisdiction was legally confirmed, monopoly was granted by the Registration Acts over the title "architect", although not over any particular aspect of practice, in exchange for more systematic guarantees of competence and integrity.

But what was acceptable in the nineteen thirties, both to the profession and to clients, was no longer seen as credible after the war, in the late 1940's and early 1950's. Traditional professional helping claims and the structural underpinning in terms of codes, educational institutions and a Registration Act no longer evoked a demand for services, or the remuneration that the occupation, in its different sections, felt was appropriate.

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(1) Hughes op. cit. p. 78.

As Fisher has pointed out in her "Claims and Credibility" paper, the response to such incredulity on the part of clients and to rivalry from other occupational groups was likely to involve structural developments in association with changes in ideological commitments, for, "structural developments interact with ideological commitments which in turn affect the helping exercise." (1) (Other possibilities included changing the response of clients or, in the last resort, changing the make-up of the clientele.)

Amongst architects, the response to a decline in credibility, manifested in the weak work and market situation of the occupation and its generally low evaluation, took several forms. While differently located policy-making elites made public their status oriented definitions of the situation and strategic solutions, discontent with salaries and conditions of work at the grass roots of the occupation crystalised into class oriented demands for unionisation.(2) In the event, a new managerial elite, many of whom shared common experiences of war time service and post war government employment, gained positions of influence at the R.I.B.A. Their strategies succeeded those of the traditional elite of private practitioners. Basing their arguments on the need to demonstrate the worth of the profession to the public, by raising levels of competence and standards of service, they developed traditional strategies in the educational sphere while initiating a totally new management strategy for the organisation of architects' offices.

This strategy formation was accompanied by an ever intensifying effort to collect information. While some of it, particularly in the early 1950's, was intended merely as a guide in the development of strategies, increasingly its value as a strategy in its own right was realised by the new managerial elite. It was used to support detailed argument and bargaining, in particular with government departments, and was also incorporated in a new "public relations" approach, to convince the public in general, and their potential clienteles in particular, of the validity of their claims.

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(1) B.N. Fisher, "Claims and Credibility", a discussion of occupational identity and the agent/client relationship." Social problems, 16, 1968-9, p. 423-33.

(2) See p 112 onwards

SECTION A

Challenges to the elite established at the occupational association.

(i) Introduction

This section is ordered around the differing perspectives offered by the main reports of the early 1950's. The first of these, the Thomas Report published in 1950, was sponsored by and was to report to the R.I.B.A. Council on what the Council saw as the critical state of private practice. (1) Based on a gallant attempt to gather some basic statistics about the occupation, it represents the composite of private and public architects' definitions of the situation of the traditional professional work locale. A report on "Public Practice", published only two years later, by four senior government architects, the Guest Editors of the Architects' Journal, was less formal but no less influential. (2) While the Thomas Report was primarily concerned with maintaining the demand for private architectural services, the public architects assumed that the overall demand for their services was secure, concentrating their attention on the most efficient and creative use of staff to fulfil the demands of the increasingly large government building programmes.

Like other professions in the early 1950's, architects possessed almost no objectively gathered data about themselves, in their various situations, on which to base their occupational strategies. (3) Unlike other occupations, which they were

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(1) Report of the committee to consider the present and future of private architectural practice. R.I.B.A., London, 1950. (Percy Thomas Report).

(2) Architects' Journal, Guest Editor Series, "Public Practice", 1952.

(3) Abel-Smith points to the lack of information amongst lawyers. B. Abel-Smith and R. Stevens. Lawyers and the courts: a Sociological Study of the English Legal System, 1750-1965. Heinemann, London, 1967.

using as comparative reference groups, certain architectural activists set about remedying this deficiency. At first in a desultory and rather rudimentary way, and latterly in a far more systematic and sophisticated manner, this strategic effort gathered momentum into the grand fact finding exercises of the late 1950's sponsored directly by the R.I.B.A. (1) Judging by the account of the Thomas Committee of their problems of data gathering, and the low significance subsequently attributed to its results, it was far easier to set goals of information gathering than to achieve such feedback. Therefore, far from assuming that the strategy formulators possessed perfect information, we need to be very aware that their perceptions are limited by their own experiences and that of their immediate grouping.

(ii) <u>The threat to private practice - as seen by and presented to the elite of private practitioners at the R.I.B.A.</u>

The regulation and limitation of building work after the war was seen by the R.I.B.A. Council as creating grave problems for private practice, since most of the work was organised through government bodies of some kind.

> "The serious position caused by the cut in capital expenditure and the resulting curtailment of building has been the subject of earnest consideration by the Council, who have been particularly concerned with

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(1) See below p. 124 onwards.

the position of the architect in private practice." (1)

Although local and central government organisations had been increasing in influence before the war, their domination of the building field combining the functions of client, employer and general economic overlord was seen both inside and outside the occupation as critical in its struggles to re-establish itself in the post war context. Since most

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(1) R.I.B.A. Annual Report, 1947/48.
A senior member of the occupation, who was a student at the time and who has subsequently held senior positions in public and private practice, recollected the situation, particularly the R.I.B.A.'s private practice bias, ".....towards the end of the 1940's there was a tremendous squeeze, by Cripps, business, building for education, housing all were slashed ruthlessly and the threat of a third world war was something that kept you awake at night. And we all felt when we had finished as students there wouldn't be a job."
P.H. and Thomas Report on private practice?
A. "Yes, they were all scared too... but it never materialised. The 1951 Exhibition seems to have been some sort of watershed looking back. The whole economic situation affected us as students and it must have affected those with jobs and who were getting no kind of joy out of the old guard at the R.I.B.A., who were still using it as a club for principals in private practice. And there was a big gap at the end of the war between the old guard at the R.I.B.A., who still thought that public practice was non-u, and those who had gone into practice and/or education just before, during or after the war, who thought that public practice was the only way to practice architecture - none of us dreamt of setting up a small private practice." A.5.

of the then Council members were drawn from private practice, it is not surprising that the concern of the "old guard" encouraged them to set up a committee under the chairmanship of a past President of the R.I.B.A., Sir Percy Thomas. (1) Its members were divided equally between public and private practice. It was asked, in particular, to assess the degree of under-employment amongst private architects and the opportunities available to young architects to set up in private practice. The Council was clearly very aware of latent tensions between the two major sections of the occupation, for the committee was also,

> "Specially asked, to consider the relationship between official and private architects and to see if the two groups, being complementary and of one purpose architecturally, can co-operate to find a method of working directed towards the full employment of the profession in the most productive, efficient and economic way and which will tend towards a general improvement of architectural standards." (2)

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(1) See below p. 116 for the composition of the Council at a later period. There are no definite figures for this period; but the later figures show a slow spread of representation to the sections that have grown up alongside private practice.

(2) R.I.B.A. 1950, op. cit. p. 1.

Insisting that they did not assume that relations between private and official architects were "mutually antagonistic", the Committee admitted that their statistics demonstrated an increase in the numbers of official architects, associated with a corresponding decrease in the number of assistants in private practice. (1) The expansion of the work load and staff of government departments and agencies, had, they admitted, resulted in the diminution of work available to private practice. The Committee denied that such developments could be associated with unemployment in the private sector. Whatever unemployment they found - and it was rather small - was more correctly attributed, they argued, to the uneven distribution of work amongst private architects, between the large and the small, the established and the less established, practices.

On the other hand, they did recognise conditions which led to general frustration and the mal-distribution of work between offices. Frustration was engendered both by post war restrictions on the classes of buildings which were given priority in the building programme (the theatres, shops, hotels, which had formed such a large part of their pre-war work load, had very low priority) and also by the "multitudinous regulations governing and restricting the building actually allowed." (2)

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(1) A.J. 23.1.52, p. 115. The statistics subsequently assembled from a number of sources by the R.I.B.A. indicate that there was just under a ten per cent increase in the numbers in public service in the nineteen fifties, compared with the end of the 1930's.

(2) Thomas Report, op. cit. para. 43.
The increased significance of government as client and employee is described in detail by Elizabeth Layton in her report on, Building by Local Authorities, George Allen & Unwin, 1961.

These frustrations were exacerbated by the uneven distribution of work, both geographically and between larger and smaller offices. Central, local government or nationalised industries being the main clients, they preferred to play safe and delegate work to the established private practices which thereby tended to grow. (1) Such trends adversely affected the young architect, who had traditionally expected to set up on his own, with work from a few private individual clients. (2)

The picture presented in the Thomas Report is clearly that of private practice on the defensive in the face of the all pervading public sector encroaching on its traditional area of work and sources of manpower. The Committee was primarily concerned with the overall market situation, with establishing a more even demand as between large and small practices, between the long established and the recently established. The self employed architect, or the potentially self employed architect principal, setting up on his own was seen as presenting significant problems, although the Committee did refer to the need for making jobs as employees, in private practice, more attractive. It is interesting that the old established institution of competitions was advocated several times, along with more novel means of securing the market for private practice and the satisfaction of the individual architect. They made strong recommendation that the division of tasks and responsibilities between private practice and the government sector should be worked through more thoroughly.

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(1) op. cit. para. 58-9, p. 11-12.
(2) ibid. para. 60, p. 12-13.

(iii) The counter-definition - the significance of "Public architecture".

If the Thomas Report illustrated the intrusion of public architecture into a traditionally key sector, the Guest Editors of the A.J. unashamedly argued the significance of the public sector, seeing it as "an essential public service". (1)

> "The great increase in building and urban planning which has been commissioned by public agencies of one kind or another has created what amounts to a new situation in so far as the architect is concerned, parallel in certain respects, to that caused in civil engineering by the Health Acts in the nineteenth century and in the medical profession in the new medical services, in short, it is the recognition of architecture as an essential public service." (2)

Indeed the Guest Editors were not content to play a passive role in documenting the increasing significance of the public sector; they attempted to set out the goals of such a public service, to encourage action within the profession and to outline the organisational and professional means of achieving these.

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(1) The 4 Guest Editors were:

1. The Chief Architect & Planning Officer to the Department of Health for Scotland.
2. City Architect & Planning Officer for the city of Coventry.
3. Chief Architect to the Ministry of Education.
4. The Architect to the London County Council.

(2) A.J. vol. 116, 31.5.52, p. 145.

> "Finally, Public Architects cannot achieve all these necessary advances by sitting back and waiting. They have to convince the majority of the profession, as well as their public clients who make the decisions, that major reforms are necessary." (1)

Responding to the demands of the public authority clients, the Guest Editors "claim", or define, the aims of public architecture as, "the creation of architecture of the highest quality and where necessary the maximum quantity, in the right place, at the right time and at the right cost." (2) To achieve this, they argue, there is one fundamental need, that "the size and responsibility of the executive unit should be such as to give the best conditions for the carrying out of creative work." (3) The ad hoc increase in public offices since the war, some of which were independent architects' departments, others consisting of an architectural complement in an engineers' or surveyors' department, had resulted in two major deficiences. Firstly, the organisation was usually too large and hierarchical and, secondly, the salary scales were inadequate. A hierarchical organisational form had emerged both from the traditions of established government departments and from the example of private offices, where principals were set above and apart from a body of assistants, or "slaves". (4)

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(1) A.J., vol. 117, 8.1.53, p. 37.

(2) A.J., vol. 117, 31.1.52, p. 145.

(3) A.J., vol. 117, 31.1.52, p. 145.

(4) In many conversations with architects of all levels of seniority, this pejorative term was used to describe the staff of the pre-war private office.

The Guest Editors' main recommendation was the establishment of "group" working, teams composed of more or less senior architect colleagues, along with other specialists, engineers, quantity surveyors and so on. The critical point was that, "each architect should be treated as a responsible professional person, and in being given greater opportunity and freedom, accepting greater responsibilities and obligations." (1)

They admitted that their proposals had radical implications for private practice as well as the public service, for, even in the traditional locale of the occupation, individual responsibility for design had too frequently been retained in the hands of the principals. In their view, the chief architect, while mainly concerned with co-ordinating and policy making, should attempt to remain, "a creative architect" not "an autocratic boss", and to act as "the co-ordinator of a team of responsible architects." (2)

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(1) A.J., vol. 117, 8.1.53, p. 37.
One of the Guest Editors recollected these plans for organisational reform and the widening of responsibility, which were behind their proposals for higher pay:
"....the desire for more pay did not arise from an urge for more pay of itself, but from the idea that no longer was a successful practice - public or private - a one man or two man show, with a few slaves. This suggested flat organisational pyramids (cf. the Guest Editor stuff), and this has quite obvious implications for pay - trying to run the flat pyramid office you were giving people enormous responsibilities for very little pay..... This resulted, in my case, with us having endless battles with treasury establishments, not that they were beastly about it. But, to try and put over the new concept, and to do it as individuals in different offices, was very difficult. So one needed the support of the R.I.B.A., authoritative, objective...." A2

(2) A.J., vol. 117, 8.1.53, p. 37.

One of the immediate implications of the greater sharing of responsibility, they argued, was the introduction of intermediate grades, such as divisional and group architects, with much higher and wider salary scales. Although the Thomas Report also recognised the need for some changes in the internal structure of private offices, their suggestions were very limited compared with the wide ranging organisational and ideological changes envisaged by the Guest Editors for public practices.

From these early reports emerge contending definitions of the crucial problems facing architects. While the elite of private practitioners at the R.I.B.A. were most concerned with the threat to private practice and the means of securing their market, senior government architects, with their market assured, were searching for new ways to organise their offices to meet the new demands set by the large complex building programmes. However, as one of the Guest Editors recalled, this series was more than a mere armchair exercise, it was one of a number of moves designed to increase the influence of public architects.

> "Oversimplifying terrifically, before the war the R.I.B.A. had been run by the few mainly for the few and, of course, they were nearly all prominent private architects. The feeling of those of us in Local Government was that either we might have to bail out of the R.I.B.A., because of its strong leanings towards private practice, or that we would have to do our best to change it. And so quite a number of us set about doing what little we could to change it."
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> P.H. "Was this one of the reasons why you got involved in the Guest Editor series of the Architects Journal?"
>
> A. "That was the early beginnings. And then we were able to elect quite a number of very different people to the Council - some of us were elected ourselves - and then change the office. We had some say in the choice of Presidents and the President's Committee. What I think we did achieve was the introduction of public architecture into the establishment of the R.I.B.A. without too bloody a revolution." A.2.

(iv) The Challenge from salaried activists.

While senior architects seem to have had particular influence in offering strategic solutions to the problems of the different sections of the occupation, there were those who published no reports but whose problems were increasingly exercising the elites of report writers. These were the middle range of employees, the salaried architects. Prior to the Second World War they would have expected, and had, very good chances of setting up in practice on their own, as had so many architects before them. Increasingly, they had to face the prospect of work life as employees. It is to the discontents of salaried architects that we will now turn, for the hesitation with which theR.I.B.A. Council responded to their demands contributed to a constitutional crisis, which opened the way for the elite of public authority architects to gain positions of influence and to develop their own strategies.

Discontent amongst architects, and especially government employed subordinates, became articulate in the technical press in the early 1950's, stimulated by increased employment problems and by the opportunity to air their grievances in the Architects' Journal. Comparing their situation with that of doctors, an increasing number of assistant architects gave voice to their discontents in letters to the A.J. Architects from the City Architect's Department in Coventry did not mince their words in pointing to the inaction of the R.I.B.A.;

> "....recent increases in salaries of the medical profession show quite clearly what a vigorous and progressive professional association can do for its members..... compared with the B.M.A., the efforts of the R.I.B.A. since the war are negligable and the reason for this difference is generally known.... the policy of the Council interested in the preservation of private practice for the few and consisting mainly of private employers, their inactivity is quite understandable - employers do not advocate raising employees wages when it affects their pockets." (1)

They called for all salaried architects to vote only for other salaried architects in the Council elections. The following year the A.J. printed a similar exhortation from 280 architects in 13 offices following the "encouraging" results of the previous elections. (2)

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(1) A.J., vol. 115, 10.4.52, p. 446.
(2) A.J., vol. 117, p. 635.

But, as they indicated, salaried architects had a long way to go to counterbalance the influence of Fellows over Associates and principals in private practice over architects in public offices. (1)

Meanwhile, more direct methods of dealing with salaried staff's grievances over salaries were getting increasing publicity in 1953. In July 1953 the A.J. printed a provocative proposal for a new salary scale for assistant architects, from "a local authority architect", which stimulated considerable correspondence and some significant actions. (2) Mr. Cleeve Barr, for example, who later articulated the discontents of salaried architects in a crucial A.G.M. in 1958, wrote in suggesting a "Salaried Architects Allied Society", which should make use of the huge membership and prestige of the R.I.B.A., together with the legal union status and experience in salary negotiations of the Association of Building Technicians. (3) The staff of a County Architect's Department saw the B.M.A. as an appropriate model, wanting to label the new association, "the British Architects' Association". (4) However, by the autumn of 1953 written exhortations for salary increases, for restricting the entry into the occupation and for the establishment of some new means of representation, were followed by a meeting: it was called by the Association of Building Technicians with the executive editor of the A.J. in the Chair. The general feeling of those attending was in favour of Mr. Richardson's suggestion that,

> "In order to defend the interests of architects, engineers and surveyors, it has become, in my opinion, essential for us to form a professional association or union.... to arrange scales of salaries, rules of conduct, conditions of service and similar matters." (5)

As we might have expected in an occupation with a tradition of "professional ideology and institutions", the demands for union means of representation were associated with the goal of "improvement of the status of their salaried members". (6)

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(1) Their evidence on representation included the following statistics: 2,059 Fellows of the R.I.B.A. were represented by 27 members on the Council; 10,405 Associates by 9 members; 51 of the 75 Council members were partners in private practice.
(2) A.J., vol. 118, 16.7.53, p. 69.
(3) A.J., vol. 118, 30.7.53, p. 130. For his later activities see below p. 160-162.
(4) A.J., vol. 118, 17.12.53, p. 746.
(5) Mr. Richardson was the author, no less, of the provocative salary scale proposed in the July.
(6) cf. Prandy op. cit.

In the meantime the R.I.B.A. Salaried and Official Architects' Committee (S.O.A.C.) were moved to appoint a subcommittee to consider "effective representation of salaried architects and architectural assistants in all negotiations affecting their conditions of service and salaries in every field of practice." Although its very detailed and considered report was presented to the Council within the year, by February 1954, it was not published until January 1956 - and then only as a result of pressure from the newly formed Ad Hoc Committee. By this time feeling was running high amongst some salaried architects that the R.I.B.A. was dragging its feet, that the elite of private practitioners on the R.I.B.A. Council was trying to avoid the representational problems of salaried architects and the class oriented union strategy which they were advocating to meet them. Summerson's summing up of a similar situation during the 1930's was as relevant to the mid 50's as it was to the mid 30's.

> "For 197 years the R.I.B.A. has upheld the ideal of the independent artist-constructor-businessman acting in a fiduciary relationship to his client. Its membership and council show a large predominance of private practitioners; its external policies and energies have been chiefly directed to persuading the 'building public' to employ qualified architects, with an unconscious emphasis on their independent status. The Institute has never interested itself much in the status of the departmental principal, still less in that of the 'salaried' man in a humble position, who nevertheless has earned the Associateship of the Institute educationally, often better equipped than his chief. Lately, however, these low elements in the R.I.B.A.'s membership have been vocal, not to say truculent." (1)

The Report of the Salaried and Official Architects' Committee itself gave lengthy consideration to the past history of the R.I.B.A.'s efforts to consider and negotiate on behalf of salaried architects. (2) Recognising that most of the discontent came from Local Government salaried architects, the most rapidly expanding section of the occupation, and that this section was anxious to have the R.I.B.A. represent them, although they were suspicious of its domination by private practitioners, the Sub-Committee recommended that a Trade Union be set up

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(1) John Summerson, "Bread and Butter and Architecture", Horizon VI, 1942, p. 235-6.

(2) These included a series of, understandable, failures to get an R.I.B.A. salary scale taken up by the main organisations negotiating at central and local government level, which may not have been widely known amongst architects.

"under the aegis of the R.I.B.A.". Although their argument against architects joining existing representative organisations was diffuse, they were quite clear that the R.I.B.A. could not turn itself into a union, as had been suggested by a number of salaried architects. Yet, they decided that a union was the only effective type of negotiating body. Not only was union activity against the tradition of a learned society, not only had its earlier failures indicated its ineffectiveness in this sphere, but Counsel's opinion had been that such negotiating activities would be against their Royal Charter. (1)

The Report recommended the establishment of a union, but it had strong reservations about its potential effectiveness. Clearly the R.I.B.A. Council found these most compelling, since they formed a crucial part of their argument against the creation of a union during the next four years. It warned that the power of a union depended on numbers, that the numbers of architects in the U.K. were small, and there was no guarantee of 100% membership. Furthermore, with regard to local government in particular, any independent union's effectiveness would be strictly curtailed by the existing all embracing union, NALGO, through which all negotiations would still have to be channeled.

If such reservations rather questioned the wisdom of the Committee's original recommendation, to establish a union, their other recommendations were also problematic. Concerned still with the representation of Local Government and salaried architects, they pointed out that 18 out of 72 seats on the

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(1) R.I.B.A.J., vol. 63, 1955/6, p. 103.
Queen's Counsel described the R.I.B.A. as a "scientific society" and the S.O.A.C. accepted this in describing the R.I.B.A. as "a learned and professional society".

R.I.B.A. Council and similar proportions on the main Council Committees, Finance and House and the Executive, could scarcely be called fair representation for this section of the profession. (1)

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(1) On the Finance and House Committees the proportions were 2:9, Local and salaried architects/private practitioners, and worse on the Executive Committee (2:15). The R.I.B.A. have some figures for 1967 which, while they cannot be compared directly with the situation in the mid-fifties, owing to changes in the internal structure of the R.I.B.A., nevertheless indicate a broadening in the representation of different sections of the profession.

	% of architects on R.I.B.A. Council (& Policy Committee) (1967)	% of architects employed in sector of profession. (approx.) (1964)
Private Practice	67.3	~~50.1~~ ~~49.2~~ * 49
Local Government	17.3	~~28.6~~ ~~27.6~~ 28
Central Government	6.3	~~12.5~~ ~~11.5~~ 11
Education, Research	9.1	~~2.7~~ ~~1.7~~ 2
Staff architects (commercial)	-	~~6.7~~ ~~5.7~~ 6
Other	-	~~5.2~~ ~~4.3~~ 4

Thus, the overall estimates show that whereas private practice accounted for about 50% of the occupation (the last available figures on the profession were collected in 1964), this sector was consistently over-represented on the Council and all its Committees, except for the Education and Library Committees, but by a smaller proportion than before. On the other hand, while architects in Central Government formed 6.7% of the occupation their representation fluctuated from 3.1 on the Central Services Department Committees to 5.0% on the Council, to 12.5% on the Professional Service Department. Local Government architects in education had gained the most; if "Local Government and Salaried" architects do not seem to have increased the 25% of the council seats that they had by the end of the 1950's, Education and Research now seems to be considerably over represented. In other words representation had been spread in the previous 10 years, but not so widely as to give representation in proportion to the sector's numerical significance in the occupation. By the end of the 1960's there were indications that the lack of representation of salaried architects was becoming the main source of dissatisfaction concerning the representation of occupational interests on the R.I.B.A. Council and Committees...."at that time (1955) the R.I.B.A. Council was heavily weighted towards private practice - it's not so very different today -Iguess it's now 2:1. I still can't think of one depute or group architect on it...it's still the top crust partners and public architects." A8. Since 1967 there has been a significant improvement in the balance of representation although it is still far from perfect.

* These figures have been rounded ~~down~~, as the orginal figures sent from the RIBA added up to more than 100 %

They recommended that changes should be made in the election of members. Taking in the broader range of salaried staff, including salaried assistants in private practice who had no means of representation whatsoever, the Report suggested a Whitley Council type structure be set up within the occupation and that the observance of a minimum Scale of Salaries and Conditions of Service should be enjoined by the Code of Professional Conduct.

By the time this report was finally made public, in 1966, there was still no sign of such a development, which required private practice principals to impose on themselves a high degree of self restraint. As a result of the scattered nature of architectural practice mainly in small offices, their strong "professional" and independent artist tradition and hopes for individual promotion or independent practice, and with the boom and slump character of employment chances, it is not altogether surprising that this suggestion never seems to have 'caught on' amongst private practice employees. (1)

(v) <u>The response of the R.I.B.A. Council to a strategy of unionisation</u>.

Thus, as a result of the increased articulateness of architects in the public sector of the occupation, the private practice dominated R.I.B.A. Council was increasingly compelled to consider the thorny problems of supporting and servicing an occupation which was becoming far more heterogeneous. The functions of club or learned society, or even the traditional

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(1) cf. Lockwood's counting house clerk; prior to the development of larger more bureaucratic offices, market, work and status situations, favoured loyalty to the employer, rather than the growth of independent bargaining institutions. Op.cit. 1958.

professional concern with the means of guaranteeing competence through educational standards and integrity, no longer seemed sufficient to certain members and sections of the occupation. If the salaries and conditions of service of salaried architects were to be protected and advanced, along with those of the principals in private practice and the senior government officials, the R.I.B.A. Council was being required to come to terms with the class oriented strategies, that salaried architects had come to feel necessary and appropriate to protect their interests, or else to offer an effective alternative.

The Council's immediate response to the Report was to send out a questionnaire to the entire R.I.B.A. membership to ascertain more general feeling in the occupation on the issue. Significantly, they did not actually ~~publish~~ give a full account of the findings at this time. (1) Its recommendations for internal changes in wider representation on the Council and minimum standards for salaries and conditions, in private and public offices, upheld by the professional code, were overlooked while the Council concentrated on the union issue.

It was nearly a year later, in January 1955, that the Secretary made public the moves that had been stimulated by the agreement, in response to the questionnaire, of about one third of the profession to the need for some type of union representation. But, although one third of the respondents had been in favour of union representation, the Secretary pointed out that a number of them seemed to be under the misapprehension that the R.I.B.A. could take on such functions, in spite of the covering letter reminding members that to take on such negotiating functions would be against the Charter.

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(1) March 1954, the questionnaire plus covering letter from R.I.B.A. sent out.
May, 1954 the A.J. reports that the results were published. (A.J. 13.5.54) 18,065 were in favour of union representation.
January 1955, R.I.B.A.J., 4.1.55, p. 119, "Negotiations on Salaried Employment", a letter from the R.I.B.A. Secretary.

The R.I.B.A. Council was, therefore, in some doubt, he argued, as to the final degree of support that might be forthcoming. However, deciding that there would be advantages in working through an existing organisation, they had opened discussions with the Association of Building Technicians, to discover whether it could be modified to represent architects alone and whether it could achieve general recognition as the negotiating body for salaried architects. Since neither of these aims seemed possible and the prospects of a new body, established in direct competition with the established giants, NALGO and the Institute of Professional Civil Servants, seemed even less encouraging, the Council recommended that salaried members' best interest would be served by joining the existing organisations. In short, the R.I.B.A. did not propose either to sponsor a new trade union or to give exclusive support to one of the existing ones. But, it did intend to review the function of the R.I.B.A. department serving salaried members in official and private practice, to see what further moves could be made to benefit them and encourage co-operation between the different negotiating bodies.

(vi) <u>The changing balance of power</u>.

We have seen that the R.I.B.A. Council pressed to develop new means of representing the interests of salaried architects, with especial reference to their pay and conditions of work. We have seen them receiving a special report of a sub-committee of their own Salaried and Official Architects' Committee, yet failing to publish it, then sending out a questionnaire to their members and hesitating over the meaning of the results. They were slow, to say the least, in communicating their subsequent moves to their membership. Even if the limited achievements of the association for salaried architects, created a few years later, were to justify some of the

hesitation of the Council, at the same time their prevarication could not but be interpreted by contemporaries as the reluctance of an elite of private practitioners to follow up seriously the interests of architects with different experiences and problems. Little wonder that widespread dissatisfaction and disillusion with the R.I.B.A. Council's efforts was revealed at the next Annual General Meeting in May, 1955, when a motion was proposed refusing to accept the Council's actions. It was passed by 224 votes to 87.

However, this rebellion by salaried architects marks a turning point in their conflict with the Council. After this A.G.M. the Council set up an Ad Hoc Committee to consider the "representation of salaried architects". But, very significantly, their remit was cast more widely still and they were also asked to "review the structure of the profession". (1) And in the following years the particular problems of salaried architects were engulfed by the problems put forward by senior government architects, for the most part. It is to this re-definition of the problem, couched in terms of the occupation as a whole, and the strategies to which such an interpretation gave rise, that we turn in the next section.

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(1) See below p. 121.

SECTION B

The definition of the situation by the new managerial elite.

(i) The Ad Hoc Committee set up

The most significant outcome of the dissatisfaction of salaried architects was the agreement of the Council, in July of 1955, to the setting up of an Ad Hoc Committee on "the representation of Members in Salaried Employment and to review the structure of the profession." (1) It was to review measures to answer the specific criticisms of the A.G.M. motion, but also, it was instructed to attempt to extend the investigation to the structure of the profession, to examine the total income of the profession and to assess salaries and grading in relation to age, experience and responsibility. (2) Although its chairman was a principal in private practice, Richard Sheppard, its "moving spirit" was said to have been a senior public architect, in fact one

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(1) R.I.B.A.J., vol. 75, 1968, p. 47.

(2) R.I.B.A.J., vol. 63, 1955/6, p. 351.
Its membership was so established that a particularly complete coverage of the occupation emerged. Not only were private and public offices separately represented, but there was a further breakdown in private practices, between the London based and the provincial with further representation of large private practices; and Central Government, County and Borough Architects' Departments were given separate representation. Based on very similar divisions, assistants both in private and public offices were represented, together with one teacher of architecture and a representative for Scotland.
The Architect & Building News, 18.8.55, vol. 208, p. 189.

of the Guest Editors of the Architects' Journal in 1952, Stirratt Johnson-Marshall. (1) "From it flowed virtually all the changes that followed," it is alleged, "but the Committee's first job was to find someone to do its work." (2) The man they found was Gordon Ricketts, who was to become within a few years administrative head of the R.I.B.A., in the office of Secretary, a post which he held until his death in 1968. (3) Within six months the first Report of the Ad Hoc Committee was published, in January 1956, in the R.I.B.A.J., along with the two year old Report of the Salaried and Official Architects' Committee, representing a specific attempt to increase communication between the R.I.B.A. and its members. (4)

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(1) The significance of a few central individuals was alluded to by a key respondent.
"Between 1920's/1930's and the 1950's external conditions modified tremendously. If something like the Ad Hoc Committee hadn't come about there would have been repercussions within the R.I.B.A., otherwise they would have come as pressure from below."
P.H. "You don't regard the Ad Hoc Committee as pressure from below?"
A. "Curiously not - it came from one or two imaginative individuals and they saw you could galvanise opinion, that opinion was not conscious of the disabilities it was working under. You find professional people soon after qualifying totally immersed in their work. They began to see there was no structure for qualified people: the structure was based on the division between unqualified and partners or chief architects. The dissatisfaction in the 1950's, as I remember it, was of those qualified people of 5-10 years standing (all assistants) with no prospects of promotion..... no system of grading." A8.

(2) R.I.B.A.J., vol. 75, 1968, p. 47 op cit.

(3) See below p. 135.

(4) R.I.B.A.J., vol. 63, Jan. 1956, p. 97, "First Interim Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Salaried Employment and the Structure of the Profession."
See above p. 112-117.

The emergence of the Ad Hoc Committee is crucial in the changing balance of power at the R.I.B.A. As one key respondent recalled,

> "There were several of us around at the R.I.B.A. at that time, several in public offices,....quite a collection of people on the public side who really started off both of these things (the Ad Hoc Committee as well).....those of us in public office realised that the kind of people we were getting were not the right kind of people for this new kind of work.....so four men with public office experience went into education to try and make a dent in that."
> P.H. "You feel that you were more involved in the educational side than the developments leading up to the Ad Hoc Committee and then the Office Survey?"
> A. "Yes, but it was very much the same sort of people, my partner and several others....got into the R.I.B.A., and that sort of thing led to the palace revolution that was based on the Ad Hoc Committee." A4.

Through the Ad Hoc Committee's publications the newly emerging managerial elite were able to offer their definition of the situation and make specific recommendations. (1)

> "In our discussions we have become increasingly aware that while the problems referred to us are important in themselves, they are really symptoms of much bigger and less obvious difficulties affecting the whole profession which must be faced. The fact is that the necessity for the employment of architects in their due position of responsibility is not yet generally accepted.
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> Changes in the organisation of government, of industry and of Local Authority have fundamentally altered the means by which the architect is employed and handles his work. These factors, taken together with the development of pressure groups in all trades and professions and rapid changes in building techniques, point to the need for the R.I.B.A. to acquire the knowledge which is indispensable to the exercise of power and to the retention of leadership in building.
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> Dissatisfaction with salaries and conditions of service.....While manifest in terms of a demand for better trade union organisation and representation, we think it derives from certain fundamental professional problems, such as the increasing use of architects in salaried positions, the growing complexity of building and their construction, economic pressures and post war social changes. These factors have greatly extended the architect's responsibility." (2)

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(1) I shall use the term managerial elite from now onwards, since some of the senior government architects moved into education and into private practice towards the end of the 1950's.

(2) The First Interim Report of the Ad Hoc Committee, op. cit. p. 97.

(ii) Strategies characterised by a "status" rather than a "class" orientation.

Not only did the Committee take an overall, as opposed to a sectional, view of the occupation, but its work was permeated by a status ideology of the type that Prandy contrasted with the class type. This is not surprising when we remember that it was senior government architects, in contrast to the junior government employees, who were behind the union strategy, who were particularly prominent, both in the setting up of the Ad Hoc Committee and in the implementation of the two streams of strategic policy development. They were particularly active, compared with their previous shadowy presence in the R.I.B.A. corridors of power.

The chief strategy, which the Committee immediately advocated, was the accumulation of knowledge by the professional body about the profession as a whole. Such knowledge, they argued, was "indispensable to the exercise of power and to the retention of leadership in building." One of the architects involved at the time recollected the developments following on from the Ad Hoc Committee in the following way,

> "....then out of that came the feeling that we must strengthen the R.I.B.A. a great deal; in order to be stronger the profession ought to know more about itself, and hence the appointment of Gordon Ricketts as Research Officer and the whole build up to the Office Survey....."
> P.H. And so the gathering of information was to strengthen....."
> A. "To strengthen the R.I.B.A.'s hand, not just public or private offices. It was quite clear before the war that the profession had no say in government, it was pushed around and this was true just after the war on major issues that affected environment. The R.I.B.A. was never consulted - we didn't exist you know - or were regarded as rather nice, rather feeble lot of chaps. And so on half a dozen counts we had to know what we were talking about..... To do it as individuals in different offices was very difficult, so one needed the support of the R.I.B.A., authoritative, objective....." A.2.

Until they had more information to back up further strategies, the Ad Hoc Committee said it could offer no new solutions to the problem of representation of salaried architects, beyond urging familiar policies of co-ordination and liaison with existing representative organisations. And in order to answer the related question of, "how the responsibility and remuneration commensurate with an architect both in public and private offices may be fairly and practically assessed and made understandable and acceptable to employers and the community", they advocated the creation of a senior officer at the R.I.B.A., with the requisite staff to study the actual responsibilities and salaries of architects. Such information was needed in order to speak authoritatively to the increasingly centralised bodies of employers and employees, which formed the occupational milieu of the occupation, whether or not the R.I.B.A. was to represent them directly.

> "Local Authorities, industrial groups as well as employees (other professions as well as manual workers) are increasingly developing powerful organisations, centred largely on research and study groups, designed to collect and present knowledge useful in their competition with others." (1)

As Prandy has pointed out, a number of self-styled professional bodies have taken to making surveys of the salaries of their members, but the lengths to which they are prepared to go to use this information collectively varies with the degree of status orientation of the association. (2)

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(1) Ad Hoc Committee Report. op. cit. p. 98.
(2) Prandy op. cit. p. 77-78.

Compared with such occupations, however, it was the far greater scope of the information gathering of the R.I.B.A. which commands attention. In the R.I.B.A. Annual Report for 1957/8 the investigations of the Ad Hoc Committee were said to comprise: (i) a biographical questionnaire to all R.I.B.A. members; (ii) a private practice list drawn up by size and region (to measure the type and volume of building work in offices); (iii) a survey of responsibilities and salaries in Local Government based on investigations in 64 offices; (v) analysis of building work and the economics of the building industry - soon established as the quarterly survey into new work entering architects' offices (private practice). (1)

In short, we find that the Ad Hoc Committee was advocating a fact finding strategy with the pressures of government as employer and the answering strategies of employees very much in mind. Once again, we need not be surprised at such awareness of the situation in central and local government locales, when we remember that the prime movers behind the Ad Hoc Committee were the senior public authority architects.

Almost, but not quite lost, in the powerful emphasis on the effectiveness of the weapon of knowledge, the Committee does indicate that an understanding of the responsibility of the profession and an acceptance of a reasonable remuneration by its different publics, depends on "the standards of entry qualification and performance of the profession". Within a few years emphasis on these strategies was to become all important, but in 1956 the keynote was knowledge on which to base discussions of what the profession was "worth" to the nation - as Prandy would suggest, a typical status orientation. An A.J. leader from this time, typical of many during this period, underlined the importance of such an approach.

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(1) See Appendix X for recent results of this ongoing survey.

> "If architects consider that they are underpaid, there are two ways of going about remedying it. The immediate short term answer is to join one of the existing trade unions and become a fervent, loyal trade unionist. Then, in time, and more or less in step with the other hundreds and thousands of trade unionists the pay increases, in five and ten or twenty pound annual rises, will inevitably come. In this approach one has to forego any preferential treatment on account of extra skill and responsibility, in order to secure the mass, the numerical, support to ensure that the employer - whether an individual or the treasury - takes notice of one's demands. The alternative way of securing better pay does not necessarily need the (concealed) strike weapon used by the trade unionist. The first requisite is knowledge. Knowledge, that is, of what the profession earns, and what its responsibilities are. Knowledge of what the profession is worth in fact, if properly utilised in terms of efficient planning and design, to the nation as a whole. With this sort of information architects could discuss issues at the highest, even ministerial level, and the increases, commensurate with responsibilities would be of inestimable value, and could lead, for instance to a more equable distribution of work, shared knowledge on methods of improving the establishment in local and central government offices and improved office efficiency. (1)

It will be noted that, typical of a status orientation to professional strategies, there is an assumption that facts, facts about responsibilities and current earnings, will speak for themselves, that nothing so undignified as threats to withdraw labour, will be needed for true worth to be rewarded.

It remains to be seen how effective this strategy proved to be for architects. However, there is one particularly significant idea introduced in this leader, which adds a new dimension to notions of professional competence, taking it beyond Prandy's notion of status orientation. Here I am referring to, "worth.... in terms of efficient planning and design" and the suggestion that fuller information might make possible "improved office efficiency". Its significance as a legitimation for the new management strategy will become apparent in the next chapter. (2)

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(1) A.J., 9.2.56, p. 175.

(2) See below p. 163-172.

(iii) The Ad Hoc Committee's manifesto.
"Some thoughts on Professional Status."

We have seen already the emphasis which the Ad Hoc Committee placed on the need for knowledge, prior to any attempts to press for increased control, status or economic rewards for architects. At the beginning of the eventful year of 1958, before "the palace revolution" in which the old guard of private practitioners found their influence severely curtailed by the increasingly influential public authority architects, the Ad Hoc Committee published a seminal paper with the intruiging title, "Some thoughts on professional status"; it contained not merely factual information about their activities, but also "the general reflections which form the background of our work." (1)

It outlined the Committee's definition of the situation of the occupation, comparing it with occupations which they perceived as relevant, and ways of achieving their goals of increased control status and economic reward were advocated by means of status oriented strategies. In the educational arena their strategies were supported by a traditional professional legitimation, guaranteeing the individual competence of candidates. The precise level of competence, however, was to be assessed in terms of other, similarly placed, occupations. In the work arena, rather different legitimations were offered for the strategy of rationalisation and reorganisation. Indeed, historically rejected notions of efficiency and cost consciousness were put forward to justify concern with an aspect of competence not guaranteed by traditional professional strategies.

"In a newly egalitarian society", the paper opens, "it is not surprising that most professions should feel concern about their status. Broadly what others have gained through

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(1) R.I.B.A.J., January, 1958, pp. 90-94.
It was referred to in the Annual Report as a "discursive and philosophical paper".

the redistribution both of wealth and social acclaim, the professions have necessarily lost." Economic stress, particularly as a result of mounting inflation and high personal taxation, has increasingly led professionals to take unprecedented action "in defence of standards of living that were once taken for granted." For, it continues,

> "straight appeals for more money, whoever the spokesman, are not always a simple expression of a simple need, for they seem also to be voicing a sense of lost independence and diminished importance and individuality, partly perhaps because the concentration of power and of employment is nowadays in the hands of large impersonal units." (1)

While the general trend cannot be altered by any one profession there are elements of professional status which are within its control. Apart from an "air of venerable antiquity" the main elements can be broken into four:

> "(1) Prestige, which depends on a high level of individual performance; which in turn depends on a high quality of entrant; which again depends on a profession offering sufficient rewards to attract the best material. Since one of the rewards is membership of a respected body of men, this completes the cycle and we are back to quality of performance.
> (2) Length and quality of training, leading to a body of specialised knowledge with some practical application, and regulated by a recognised learned society.
> (3) Adherence to a code of ethics and a form of discipline prescribed by the regulating body.
> (4) A sense of vocation and an element of selfless service, varying in degree from one extreme characterised perhaps by the Church to what, at the other, may be not much more than a rationalisation of quite other motives." (2)

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(1) op. cit. p. 90.

(2) Ibid.

It seems significant that in amplifying these points particular emphasis is laid on standards of entry, training and research. For, it is remarked, "It seems, however, that part of the mystique that makes for professional status stems from the more or less elaborate arrangements a profession may have for extending its own boundaries of knowledge". (1) However, if this awareness reflects the sociologists' model of professionalization, the discussion of standards of entry raises new dimensions on a familiar professional manoeuvre. The suggestion of raising standards is linked, not merely to the level of competence of the potential individual practitioner, but, to the implication of a certain entry level when compared with other higher level occupations.

> "The particular virtue of a university education is said to be the cross-fertilization of ideas among able and agile young minds of different academic disciplines. If the architect is to hold the balance between art, sociology, economics and technology, does he not stand more to gain from this process than most? But whether or not the universities should have a greater share in architectural training their standards are a yardstick... The question arises, therefore, how far a great profession, statutorily responsible for its own education can afford to have an entry standard below that which a good mind may nowadays be expected to attain." (2)

Foreseeing the possibility of closer teamwork amongst specialists and particularly with builders, the importance of practical training in predisposing the architect "even more than at present to think in terms of costs, construction and building technique as he designs", is emphasised. The paper decries the nineteenth century elevation of artistic inspiration over technique, and makes no apologies for emphasising 'base mechanics' for,

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(1) op. cit. p. 92

(2) Ibid. p. 91.

> "we have presumptuously concluded that the present-day architect does not want to be equated with a kind of impecunious sculptor-artist dependent on such aristocratic patronage as may survive; that he has made his peace, in fact, with the market place and the Welfare State; that he means what he says about retaining the leadership of the building industry; and that he recognises that, whereas to be an architect was once necessarily to be thought of as a leader, the new democracy knows no such rules, leadership now being essentially de facto, not de jure." (1)

Key to the question of retaining leadership is efficient management which can best be fostered in management courses.

A salient dimension of the prestige problem for the architect is raised in the question of the clients' evaluation of the type of work the architect is doing.

> "If, therefore, the layman should frequently meet A.R.I.B.A.'s who seem to be engaged largely on humdrum routine, who seem closely circumscribed in authority and independence, and who seldom or never design or discuss plans with clients or supervise on site, we cannot prevent him drawing certain conclusions." (2)

And without drawing explicit conclusions from finding that Britain has nearly as many qualified architects as the United States, the authors of the paper leave it completely open as to who would do the necessary "hack work" if the qualified architect did not. As we will see the implications were already fairly widely canvassed under the unpopular notion of a "two-tier" profession and were soon to be the subject of the extensive debate on the introduction of a technician grade. (3)

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(1) Ibid p. 91.

(2) See above p. 99.

(3) See below p. 180.

Having set out with a "healthy scepticism" to "look again at old concepts of gentlemanliness against a new pattern of society" with no intention of providing categorical answers, the paper closes with the rallying theme, "that an assault during the next decade upon status, if a less straightforward and tangible objective than Registration, may be no less stimulating." (1) For its own part the Committee can only offer a limited contribution. Information gathering is to extend to a reasonably full survey of the structure of the profession (e.g. age structure, educational background, distribution and mobility between sectors, entry and retirement) and the organisation of architects' offices, as well as co-operation with the Doctors and Dentists Remuneration Survey. Such studies will involve comparisons of structure and practice with other professions.

However, referring back to the specific question of an architects' union the Ad Hoc Committee concludes that to develop an effective union will take years "because the profession needs first to reach a stronger position vis-a-vis the public and competitors". It intends to study such successful "percussion instruments" as the B.M.A., "for, though in the end a profession's remuneration must depend on society's estimate of its worth, some judicious moulding of society's thinking seems legitimate enough". Thus, the big programme of information gathering - and information gathered in a comparative context - is to serve several related functions; to provide information with which to develop the public image of the profession; to produce knowledge on the basis of which to bargain more effectively with salary setting bodies; and finally, but no less importantly, to become "the recognised repository of information and experience of office structure, methods and staffing", on the basis of which to advise the profession itself.

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(1) op. cit. p. 93.

This paper served as a kind of manifesto for the ideological orientation and structural changes of the next decade. In it are laid out the two broad fronts for change - education and practice. More specifically, proposals for the development of university training and research alongside further practical training are put forward along with changes in practice, the reorganisation of office practice and a further division of labour. All this was to be supported by systematic information gathering and a judicious public relations approach to its dissemination. In short, the supply of services, was to be improved and presented in terms of an updated image, in order to stabilise demand, for individual architects and for architectural skills in general, and to increase the status and thence economic rewards of the occupation.

(iv) Outside agencies appear to justify the stance of the new elite.

When the Doctors' and Dentists' Remuneration Survey was published in the early months of 1960, the managerial elite saw it as justification for their "critical appraisal". (1) Architects had been included in a comparison of the earnings of a group of "professions" of similar occupational standing, and it disclosed that architects were at the bottom of the league. (2)

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(1) Annual Report 1959.
(Report of the Royal Commission on Doctors' and Dentists' Remuneration. (The Pilkington Report).
H.M.S.O., February, 1960, Cmnd. 939.)

(2) Architects showed both the lowest figure for total career earnings and, at almost every age group, the average earnings were lower than the other groups. The other "professions" involved were, barristers, surveyors, accountants, engineers, university teachers, solicitors (Scotland separate from England and Wales), graduates in industry, general medical practitioners, general dental practitioners. cf. R.I.B.A.J., April, 1960, "Comparison of Professional Incomes". pp. 195-200.

"This in itself is not calamitous", wrote the Honorary Secretary of the R.I.B.A., in the Forward to the Annual Report that year,

> "but, it does not suggest either that society over values the services of architects, or that the Institute can afford to be complacent. Clearly, we still have some way to go to ensure both that the profession's standard of all round performance is all that it should be in the service of the public and that the public is deeply enough concerned about the quality of its physical environment." (1)

The problem was stated more forcefully in a paper from the Secretariat of the R.I.B.A., "to too many people the profession still seems to be optional, a near-luxury. Its contribution to living is thought of as pleasant but inessential, and, therefore, not worth paying a high price for." (2) While the necessity of becoming more "efficient" is recognised by the Secretariat, changes of this nature will take many years. Meanwhile, a more "aggressive policy" must be pursued,

> "Yet, if the profession can come to be regarded as such through a combination of outstanding performance and astute public relations, it may be that the profession has too great a fear of 'public relations' which has, rightly or not, become an integral feature of modern life. The direct competition of the 'all-in-service' is openly expressed in expensive advertising campaigns....." (3)

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(1) R.I.B.A. Annual Report, 1960.

(2) "Comparison of Professional Incomes", op. cit. p. 198.

(3) Ibid. - the threat of the package dealing building contractors, see below p. 165-168.

This paper from the R.I.B.A. Secretariat bears the stamp of the man who was behind many of the publications of the Ad Hoc Committee, Gordon Ricketts. Having been employed originally to organise their fact finding exercises, he had, by this stage, been given a more general position on the staff of the R.I.B.A. and was to move on in 1960 to become its Secretary. (1) It would be difficult to guage precisely his influence, or indeed that of the growing number of full time staff at the R.I.B.A., most of whom where not architects, but it was undoubtedly considerable. (2)

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(1) Gordon Ricketts was appointed as Secretary to the R.I.B.A. at the age of 38. He had experienced a significantly wide variety of employment after taking an Honours degree in English at Oxford; namely, wartime work as an R.A.F. pilot, a member of staff of the Federation of British Industry (and subsequently personal assistant to the director general) and latterly Appointments Secretary and Lecturer at the University of Nottingham. The Architects' Journal summed up his significance in an obituary in 1968. "As Secretary, he was responsible for organising the changes and innovations which have put the profession in a unique position of self knowledge, as well as setting in train improvements in architectural education and practice and Commonwealth and Internal relations. (A.J., 17.1.68, vol. 147, p. 201)
And a colleague at the R.I.B.A. outlined some of the thinking behind these developments, "Gordon took the view (some may think it too narrow a view) that the Institute could not put art into architecture, but could raise the standards of competence and performance and, by so doing, help architects acquire the prestige which he regarded as the key to a successful profession." Malcolm MacEwan. R.I.B.A.J., Feb., 1968, vol. 75, p. 47-8.

(2) The sheer increase in number of full time staff at the R.I.B.A. is noteworthy. Following Gordon Ricketts' initial appointment the "Research and Statistics" section grew and this was the beginning of a general increase in staff. The R.I.B.A. Directory of Members for 1964-65, for example, listed 13 staff below the Secretary; by 1967-8 these numbers had swelled to 55.

(v) The significance of these publications as manifestos.

The publications of the Ad Hoc Committee, and particularly the paper on Professional Status, have been referred to in considerable detail both because they were perceived as crucial statements of their ideological position by the activists themselves, and because they offer a remarkable example of the level of discourse of the new policy making elite. Although there is no specific reference in these publications to the work of social scientists in general, or the Guest Editor Economists in particular, I would argue that they cannot but be informed and influenced by such sources. This developing process of feedback, between social scientists' and actors' models, is a most significant aspect of the process of strategy formation to which we will now turn.

SECTION C

Informational Processes within the occupation and the Organisation of opposition.

(i) Introduction

By the late 1950's the managerial elite were in a position to create their own fact-finding service and make use of the associations' formal channels of communication. But, before that time, there was one particular source of information about their occupational world open to them, and

indeed used by them, to present their particular perspective, the Architects' Journal. (1) For, in the general informational void of the early 1950's, which tended to support the status quo and the controlling position of private practitioners at the R.I.B.A., the Architects' Journal set itself to become the forum for the expression of discontent and critical appraisal by any section of the profession. Indeed, it went further and initiated certain developments. The independent stand taken by the Architects' Journal undoubtedly facilitated, if not stimulated, the self-conscious development of strategic initiatives by differently placed groups of architects by providing them with crucial feedback.

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(1) The Architects' Journal, together with the Architectural Review, formed the major part of the Architectural Press, built up since the 1930's by Rubert de Cronin Hastings. This many sided Editorial Director was awarded the R.I.B.A. Gold Medal in 1971 for his services to architecture. Not an architect proper, he has been described by Sir Hugh Casson (R.I.B.A.J., Vol. 78, Feb. 1971, p. 58-9) as a farmer, draughtsman, editor, photographer, author and critic. Together with another non-architect, D.A.C.A. Boyne, the Executive Editor of the Architects' Journal, and D.M. Richards, an architect and Executive Editor of the Architectural Review, they established the wide ranging influence of the Architectural Press. "The Architectural Press has been a leading campaigner in drawing attention to the most crucial and controversial issues that have concerned the profession in this century, the development of the modern movement.... The group also pioneered the publication in the Architects' Journal of the only systematic appraisal and cost analysis of buildings and has also made a unique contribution to architecture with its renewable and classified information library." (A.J., vol. 6.1.71, p. 9)

(ii) Feedback from a social scientist.

The significance of the Guest Editor series of the Architects' Journal, which gave public architects the opportunity of offering their positive appraisal of government service, to balance the concern of the private practice dominated R.I.B.A. with the fate of their own locale, has been discussed in some detail already. (1) The following year the Guest Editors were two university economists, Professor Ian Bowen and Martyn Webb (a research assistant). They presented, for the first time, a fairly comprehensive range of statistics on the occupation, following up their hard data with prescriptions for future actions, informed by the general theorising of social scientists on the professions. Here we are presented with the beginning of a complex feedback process, which started with these general observations and recommendations, but which was followed up some years later by specific comments on the unionisation issue. (2)

Professor Bowen found the collection of basic data about the occupation difficult; in particular, accurate estimation of the total numbers of registered architects and the rate of entry into the profession during the previous fifteen years was almost impossible, although there was no doubt about the bulge of entries after the war. He found that as many as one third of current members had been registered within the last seven years (since 1946). (3)

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(1) See above p. 108 - 111.

(2) See below p. 144-145.

(3) This he attributed both to the decline during wartime and to the official promotion of architecture training in the government's Further Education Training Scheme. Of a total of 86,000 awards, he estimated that trainee architects got the third most awards, after teaching and medicine, equalling 4,900.

Unemployment was the chief spectre haunting young architects, but Bowen, from his random sample data, pointed to further potential sources of dissatisfaction, some of which, as we have already seen, were recognised by the elites of report writers. The very high proportion of assistant architects to chief architects in local and central government service, compared with private practice, was documented, together with the limited promotion chances in private practice due to the small size of offices and the higher qualifications of recently, mainly school, trained assistants, compared with their employing principals. (1) Referring to this last source of "frustration expressed by many junior registered architects", Bowen touched on a key dilemma in the professionalizing efforts of any occupation, namely, the potential discrepancy between the advantages accruing to the occupation as a whole and future generations of personnel, and the possible current disadvantages of certain policies to current personnel,

> "It must be emphasised that the increases in the amount of formal training now required will, in the long run, improve the status of the profession. It may be, as some of the figures suggest, that the economic value of training received has tended to decline (since many of those who have taken it must perforce, accept subordinate positions for a number of years) and it may be, as some argue, that the training is not as suitable for those who have to accept subordinate posts as it would be if they were soon to become principals, but the advantages of the undoubted improvement in educational standards in the profession will help to offset the possible disadvantages." (2)

However, as he himself recognised later in the series, the employment of highly qualified personnel below their capacity and at routine tasks might in itself lead the public, or clients, to make disparaging assessments of the worth of the occupation. (3)

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(1) A.J. 29.9.53, p. 529. He did not attempt to obtain information on the difficult subject of incomes.

(2) Ibid.

(3) cf. Hughes, op. cit. p. 135, re. the "down grading" of work.

(iii) A researcher's blueprint for changes - the architect's office "must be efficient as a business"

Having concluded the discussion of the factual data, Bowen moved on to suggesting broad areas for change. The profession's "institutions and practices must be yet further adapted if they are to meet the needs of the 1960's and 1970's even as well as they meet the needs of the 1940's and 1950's. But only the profession itself can undertake the next stage of enquiry and action", he argued. (1) He saw the control of education as one of the duties imposed by Registration, as well as a necessary adjunct to professional status. But it must be no mere formality; thus, school training should take over from part time training, but include relevant practical training, backed up by research which is, "a necessary background to the higher form of teaching," (2) for "the status of the profession must depend upon the unquestioned acceptability of the educational standards necessary to enter it." (3) However, he continued, "The high reputation which the profession rightly wishes to see established depends on any weaknesses being quite ruthlessly stamped out. This is certainly not happening at present." (4) Although not spelled out, this raised the question of controlling the generalised standards of service. The R.I.B.A. did not come round to considering this for almost another decade. A recent writer on the professions has cited such neglect of general standards of service as a major weakness of all professions. (5)

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(1). A.J., 28.1.54, vol. 119, p. 122.

(2) Ibid. p. 127

(3) A.J., 17.12.53, p. 744.

(4) Ibid. p. 745.

(5) cf. F.A.R. Bennion, Professional Ethics, the consultant professions and their codes. Charles Knight & Co., London, 1969, p. 51, where he refers to, "the extreme reluctance of professional institutes to penalise incompetence amongst their members...."

Bowen's suggestions for better organisation of the profession extended beyond education to the representation of architects' interests and to the work situation of the architect. He commented on the overlap between the R.I.B.A. and Architects' Registration Council of the U.K., suggesting that the profession did really need two bodies, one a learned society, but the other for the representation of the interests of salaried architects. Although he found no agreement as to whether the Association of Building Technicians or NALGO should undertake the representation of interests function, he declared that he did not think this was the duty of the R.I.B.A.,

> "R.I.B.A., on the other hand, is modifiable in composition and perhaps in function from time to time, butit is forever debarred, by its nature from becoming the voice of the profession for the sordid purpose of bargaining on salary scales and terms of employment. It is the lofty conscience of the profession rather than its vulgar vocal organ." (1)

However, he did suggest, and this perhaps would have been within the province of the R.I.B.A., that the profession should press for architects to be required to work on buildings over a certain value, and in exchange the profession would have to introduce more satisfactory cost standards as well as aesthetic ones. He admitted that a training in cost was hindered by the "antique organisation" of the building industry which, for example, included the specialist quantity surveyor, who would not be in existence if the industry were organised on sound industrial lines. However, he stressed that, "to an outsider at least the architect's office is, among other things, a business and must be efficient as a business if the client is to be satisfied." (2)

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(1) A.J., 28.1.54, p. 120. See above for further discussion of this controversy p. 112 onwards.

(2) A.J., 31.12.53, p. 804.

For, although the architect may be thought of as a "creative artist", finding new forms of expression, the more realistic function "would seem to be at present to design new buildings only in those cases where the client thinks that he will get a more economical job done if he employs an architect than if he does not." (1) Happily such economic criteria could be linked to status considerations. The use of draughtsmen, for example, was not only the most economical use of manpower, but also relieved the threats to the architect's status that the performance of routine tasks might have encouraged.

> "Unless architects pay themselves very high respect and reserve the name only for the most highly accredited persons, they can hardly expect (especially without advertising) the rest of the world to regard their skills with the awe to which those skills are properly entitled." (2)

(iv) Further feedback from the A.J. and outside observers.

As an editorial in the Architects' Journal commented, somewhat ruefully, "Bowen's conclusions make interesting, if hardly flattering reading." However, the policy of the Journal was clearly to introduce critical as well as factual discussion into the occupation prior to changes,

> "During these formative years, therefore, it is essential to give a little time now and again to looking at the profession as it is, so as to be able to assess more acurately the course to be taken to try and make the profession what it should be." (3)

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(1) A.J., 28.1.54, p. 126
(2) A.J., 28.12.54, p. 122.
(3) A.J. leader, 28.12.54, p. 119.

Perceptions as to how the profession would develop varied, as we have already seen from the publications and activities of differing groups of activists. Although no one group of activists could take over in its entirity the full range of Bowen's data and recommendations, it provided, in its different sections, a source of rhetorical argument for the differing groupings. While the private practitioners dominating the R.I.B.A. Council might take comfort from his argument that representational functions were not permitted the professional association, salaried staff could no doubt feel justified in their discontents after his underlining of their poor market and work situation. (1) Senior public authority architects would have found his proposals for more efficient office organisation very much in line with their developing policies.

Defining itself as providing a forum for the grievances and strategic recommendations of all sections of the profession, the Architects' Journal also directly took up the cause of salaried architects. (These salaried architects were frequently the employees of the senior government architects whose views the Architects' Journal had widely publicised previously). As the editors pointed out,

> "If principals complain of lack of work or lack of properly trained assistants, the assistants in their turn complain of insufficient pay for professional status and professional responsibilities and lack of opportunities. All complain apparently about every system of training students." (2)

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(1) He did not in fact gather data on incomes as he felt it was too touchy a subject.

(2) A.J., 28.12.54, p. 119.

The main discontents centred around the salaries and conditions of architects in government service. The publication by the Architects' Journal of a suggested new salary scale for architects in central government, municipal and industrial employment, (1) provoked more than a hundred letters of support, the editor commented, and in subsequent months a stream of letters demanded the development of organisational backing for these claims. (2)

Besides initiating controversy over the proposed scale of charges, the Architects' Journal once more called on one of the economist Guest Editors, Martyn Webb, to offer the outside specialist's definition of the situation and associated proposals. Once again no one side in the controversy could find complete support or rejection for their stance. Once again the "old guard" at the R.I.B.A. could take some comfort; Webb judged that, as "the employers' union or federation, it would face a loss of identity if it handed over sovereignty to a trade union body - with no guarantee that such a body would achieve recognition from the existing negotiating bodies." However, he did advocate nationwide representation of both employers and employees, pointing out that, although the current elite at the R.I.B.A. held "unconscious feelings" that unionism and professionalism don't mix, they served similar ends, but by different means.

> "Historically and politically Trade Unions have been fashioned to serve the needs of workers in their struggle to achieve better working conditions, higher wages and freedom from exploitation. Professions on the other hand struggled for their part to achieve status and recognition; an end which as I explained earlier would give them higher rewards and better working conditions." (3)

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(1) A.J., 16.7.53, vol. 117, p. 72.
(2) A.J., 6.8.53, p. 160. See above p. 112-117.
(3) A.J., 3.3.55, vol. 121, p. 257.

In fact, he suggested, with some justification, that the R.I.B.A. Council was acting behind the scenes to improve members' salaries and conditions and he proposed an open modification of the R.I.B.A.'s position. Rather curiously, he suggested that the representational function could best be fulfilled by revitalising the R.I.B.A.'s "Allied Societies", or provincial branches. It was not quite clear whether, or in what form, the R.I.B.A. itself would survive. The R.I.B.A. Council, no doubt, feared the worst, since they showed no inclination to sign their own death warrant, either by establishing a separate union or by modifying the R.I.B.A.'s functions; instead they suggested the least threatening compromise, a review of the structure and activities of their own Salaried and Official Architects' Committee.

The significance of the kind of discussion promoted by Martyn Webb in the Architects' Journal, I would argue, is less in the content of his specific proposals, than in the opportunity for an academic to provide architects with a more detached view of their problems. Derived from, and I would suggest limited by, social scientists' theoretical studies of professionalization, such a view neverthless provided a more general perspective than could emerge from the particular experiences of any individual or group.

HISTORICAL APPENDIX TO CHAPTERS IV AND V.

1950 Thomas Report on Private Practice

1952 Architects' Journal Guest Editor Series, "Public Practice"
A Committee, under the Chairmanship of Mr. McMorran set up to consider architectural education. (reported in 1955).

1953 Architects' Journal Guest Editor Series, "The structure of the Architecture Profession and its future prospects." Bowen and Webb.

1953 The grievances of salaried architects stimulate the R.I.B.A. to set up a sub-committee of the Salaried and Official Architects' Committee to consider the, "effective representation of salaried architects and architectural assistants in all negotiations affecting their conditions of service and salaries in every field of practice."

1954 Feb. Report of the Sub-Committee presented to the R.I.B.A. Council (not made public until January 1956)

1954 Mar. A questionnaire was sent out by the R.I.B.A. Council to ascertain support for a union strategy amongst their membership.

1955 Jan. The Secretary of the R.I.B.A. reveals his unsuccessful moves to persuade the Association of Building Technicians to fulfil the union type requirements of architects. Having failed, he concludes that architects should join the existing unions if they desire such representation.

1955 May Motion carried at the R.I.B.A. Annual General Meeting refusing to accept the R.I.B.A.'s actions to meet the demands for union representation.

1955 July In response to this discontent, the Council set up an Ad Hoc Committee, chaired by Richard Sheppard, on "the representation of members in Salaried Employment and to review the structure of the profession."

1956 Jan. First Interim Report of the Ad Hoc Committee (along with the report of the sub committee of the Salaried and Official Architects' Committees report, withheld since 1954).

1957 Gordon Ricketts becomes research officer at R.I.B.A.

1958 Jan. Publication of the Ad Hoc Committee's influential paper, "Some thoughts on professional status".

1958 Apl. Oxford Educational Conference. (Report published November, 1959).

1958 Mar. R.I.B.A. Annual General Meeting. Censure motion passed
Constitutional Committee set up.
Local Government Architects Association founded (re-named the Association of Official Architects, A.O.A., in 1959).

1959 Apl. Constitutional Committee recommended changes in representation which were accepted by the R.I.B.A. Council. They were accompanied by changes in the internal structure of R.I.B.A. committees.

1959 Nov. The "Report of the Committee on the Oxford Architectural Conference" published.

1960 Feb. Doctors & Dentists Remuneration Survey published. ("The Pilkington Report").

1962 Office Survey Report published.

1963)
1964) Yearly instalments of the Management Handbook.
1965)

1966 R.I.B.A. published "Conditions of Engagement"

1968 Prices and Incomes Board reported on "Architects' Costs and Fees".

1970 Monopolies Commission Report on "The Professions".

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONAL STRATEGIES IN PROCESS

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CHAPTER V

SECTION A

A major strategic success for the emerging managerial elite followed by the "bloodless" acquisition of power.

(i) Introduction

Centring on the Oxford Educational Conference, this section is not intended as a complete discussion of the manoeuvres leading up to the major personnel and policy changes of the "palace revolution" of 1958. Rather, it is a brief examination of the conflicts of interest behind the development of the new educational policy which mirrored, to a large extent, the conflicts at the professional association, between the old guard of private practitioners and the emerging managerial elite of senior government architects.

(ii) Conflict of interest over educational goals.

The question of the nature or quality of architectural training aroused different interests and different policies, as a dialogue of this period between the Builder and the Architects' Journal illustrates. The Builder, presenting the perspective of principals in private practice, argued that schools were producing qualified architects "of very limited value to their architect employers".

To this the A.J. responded tartly, "The obvious answer, of course, is that it is not the purpose of the schools to produce assistants, but to train architects." (1) This distinction was amplified in a general review of the situation,

> "Before the war being an architect meant, generally speaking, being in private practice; a large one if he was a dilettante, or if he put his art before his business efficiency. And almost as an afterthought, there was the architect in a public office - often virtually a nobody. Today the public architect handles as much, if not more, building than the private architect and he has to handle that relatively new thing, a large and complicated building programme.
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> "The architect now may specialise in building techniques, or in services - lighting, heating or acoustics - or he may be the 'job getter' or office organiser, design co-ordinator or group leader. To train a man to have some understanding of such highly complicated and specialised pursuits is quite obviously a different matter from producing an assistant who may be part office boy, part draughtsman and part architectural detailer. And even more obviously, it is the task of the schools to produce not what is wanted now, but what will be wanted tomorrow....schools can improve themselves. Still far too many are influenced by the Beaux Arts system, they are all concentrating on turning out a man to produce, with great ease, paper designs for every type of building of any complexity.....If these faults were remedied, however, the results may be even more distasteful to the old fashioned architect looking for a bright young junior assistant. It is possible that a 5 year training is a rather extravagant way of producing draughtsmen, but it is also an all too short period for producing an architect who fulfills contemporary requirements." (2)

The Architects' Journal's argument was clearly in line with the thinking of certain key public authority architects; one of them commented, when interviewed,

> "those of us in public offices realised that the kind of people we were getting were not the right kind of people for this new kind of work....so a few men with public office experience went into education to try and make a dent in that...." A4.

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(1) Architects' Journal, "Architectural schools attacked" Leader, 30.4.53, p. 543-4.

(2) Ibid.

The discontent voiced by differently placed architects over the quality of recruits in the early 1950's, has to be seen in the light of the dramatic increase in the supply in the immediate post war period. It was claimed at the Oxford Conference in 1958, that in the 13 years since the war, over half the profession had become qualified, and Bowen's specific figures give substance to thisclaim. (1) Even if there had been a controlling plan for rates of entry into the profession, it would have been exceedingly difficult to execute with so many entrants drifting into training through a multitude of offices and part time courses. There was no such plan for the quantity of recruits, and, similarly, there had been little reconsideration of the quality of training which was required for the post war building situation.

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(1) The most specific and relevant figure Bowen gives is that about one third of members in 1952 had registered within the last seven years. A.J., 26.3.53, p. 390. Bowen indicates that there were 11,800 Registered architects in 1938 and 17,600 on the Register of A.R.C.U.K. by 1952. However, he points out that in 1938 another 4,000 were technically qualified to be on the Register and were not, similarly the architectural schools were turning out about 900-1,000 qualified architects a year of whom, on average between 1948-52, only 625 were taking up the opportunity. (A.J., 12.2.53, p. 210). When it is remembered that a proportion of those on the Register practised outside the British Isles the problem of specifying the boundaries of the profession with any exactitude becomes clearer. Furthermore, not all those on the Register belonged to the main professional body, the R.I.B.A. R.I.B.A. Research and Statistics Department estimated that on Dec. 31st, 1951: 15,928 represented the U.K. Registration figure of whom 11,650 were members of R.I.B.A. in the U.K., a proportion of 73%. (This proportion has crept up in recent years to 86% in 1966 at their last estimate - 20,040 Registration: 17,135 R.I.B.A. membership). R.I.B.A. Statistics PSD/M274/67.

Dec. 31st	Estimated U.K. Registration	Estimated R.I.B.A. corporate membership (in U.K.)
1946	14,037	9,775
1951	15,928	11,650
1956	17,626	14,250
1961	18,642	15,800
1966	20,040	17,135

Criticism of the appropriateness of architectural education was widespread by the early 1950's and was met in the first instance by an R.I.B.A. Ad Hoc Committee (not to be confused with the later Ad Hoc Committee) and subsequently by a full scale joint Committee, chaired by Mr. McMorran, a principal in private practice. (1) However, neither its terms of reference, laid out in 1952, nor its Final Report delivered eventually in 1955, suggested the problematic nature both of the development of architectural skills and the place of the architect in a modern building process. They were couched in limited terms of the minimum standards for, and the methods of attaining, qualifications for Associate Membership of the R.I.B.A. and the conditions under which courses based on part time office and school attendance could be accorded exemption from R.I.B.A. Final Examinations. (2)

(iii) <u>The emergent managerial elite take the initiative in the formulation of educational policy</u>.

After this "innocuous" report, "concerned with tidying up details and putting a slight polish on standards", as the Architects' Journal described the McMorran Report, certain public architects remained concerned about educational developments. In the words of one of the public architects, they pressed for further moves which culminated in the calling of the Oxford Conference.

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(1) <u>A.J.</u>, 10.2.55, p. 187.

(2) It is interesting to note, in parenthesis, that the fourteenth and final recommendation of the McMorran Committee (which the A.J. thought most important) to set up a committee to work on joint training in the building field, was not implemented until 1961. Undoubtedly the interval can be explained in many ways, but the advocacy of a conference to consider architectural education alone, no doubt turned architects' eyes inwards to put their own house in order prior to considering integrated changes in education for building.

> "If you haven't got control of the Council, you can always get them to do certain investigations. The Oxford Conference was the same thing (as Richard Sheppard's Ad Hoc Committee), it was completely ad hoc. It consisted of getting hold of a few progressive chaps and doing a take-over in terms of policy thinking and subsequently forcing this through the R.I.B.A. Council and the Board of Architectural Education." A1

A conference was organised by the emergent managerial elite for April 1958, to which 50 selected persons were invited.

Just as the initial discontent of salaried architects was redirected during this period into reassessment of the situation of the whole occupation, so the dissatisfaction of partners in private practice with the practical skills of their new recruits was swept up, by the increasingly influential public architects, into a move for higher qualifications and a general reconsideration of architectural education. Discussion at the Conference was centred on "the needs of the profession and the community", rather than a systematic consideration of the perceived needs of different sections of the occupation. The general goal of senior government architects, to have more highly qualified staff to deal with more complex projects, tied in with the aims of the bureaucrats turned educationalists - several of whom had already moved from public practice - who organised the conference. Their general strategy for raising levels of competence was legitimised not in terms of the needs of practice or even of public offices but, significantly, by reference to comparable strategies pursued by other professions.

The conference was described by one of its main organisers, Professor Sir Leslie Martin, a recruit to the educational sphere from public practice, as the "attempt to improve its (the profession's) standards of competence at all levels." (1) Thus, the chief recommendation, which was agreed unanimously, was that the existing minimum standard of entry, of 5 O-levels, was too low and that it should be raised to 2 A-levels. Anticipating that higher entry levels would lead to higher

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(1) R.I.B.A.J., June 1958, p. 279.
See also, R.I.B.A. Annual Report, 1958, Oxford Conference, "Kernal of the year's constructive thinking".

standards of training, both on the theoretical and the practical sides, the conference members hoped it would have "repercussions throughout training and ultimately throughout the profession." (1)

With regard to the means of achieving higher standards, there was considerable agreement that such courses should be run in "recognised schools" offering full time courses and exempted from the system of R.I.B.A. external examinations. Indeed they wanted to see the R.I.B.A.'s own examinations progressively abolished. They strongly favoured the promotion of schools of architecture in universities, two particular advantages being perceived: firstly, the inducement to interdisciplinary exchanges between the arts and sciences, - both formal and informal, - which were far more limited in the art school or technical college setting; and secondly, the inevitable stimulus in such an academic setting towards developing a theoretical content to the discipline. For,

> "The advance of knowledge is not merely an ornament to a profession - it is its duty. This is the means by which the competence of the profession as a whole can be advanced. It is essential to improvement in both teaching and practice that a limited number of people should at some time devote themselves to advanced postgraduate study and research." (2)

While specialist knowledge was to be promoted by research, knowledge of practical building, they thought, could be acquired by carefully organised spells of office training, "sandwiched" into the course. Such a system would be a means of breaking down the barrier between training and practice, which was particularly strongly criticised by partners in private practice.

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(1) R.I.B.A.J., June 1958, p. 280.
(2) Ibid. p. 281.

(iv) Educational strategy legitimated: the comparative frame of reference.

Why did those at the Conference place such an emphasis on raising individual entry standards and recommending that courses should be raised in standard to university level? My key respondents were quite emphatic that these concerns related to the standing of architects vis a vis other, as they saw them, comparable professions. One, a private architect, recalled his and his colleagues' assessment of the situation:

> "What became evident and set things going as much as anything else, was the new Education Act 1945 which set up new educational qualifications, O and A levels. Medicine and law, already within the university framework, had started postulating their educational qualifications - 2 A-levels etc. I think a number of us realised that if we didn't postulate similar educational qualifications we'd be left with all the dull ones - it's a vicious circle. I think the only profession (and I don't think it is a profession) which doesn't insist on A-levels as entry standard are the surveyors..... there again I think now we were wrong..... There was no direct link between the Oxford Conference group and the Ad Hoc Committee, but both realised that each could help the other. If architects have a good educational background, then they can push the disciplines that the profession should have under its control and at its command to higher levels. And therefore, on the other hand, justify the claims you are making in terms of salary and responsibility." A8.

Thus, combined with the use of other 'professions' as comparative reference groups, there was the awareness of interaction with other members-or potential members - of the role set, such as engineers and researchers. Apart from the fear of "being left with all the dull ones" and its implications both for standards and the general public image of the profession, they were concerned with controlling, or just developing, a "better relationship" with related occupations. (1) A public architect summed up his view of the conference, reiterating comparison with the standards

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(1) See above, discussion on reference groups, Ch. II, p. 32-33.

of entrants to other professions,

> "...Higher standards of entry, getting rid of the lowest grade of schools which was giving purely formal education, getting more practitioners into schools and diversifying the subjects taught, getting a better relationship between architects and engineers, psychologists and other faculties - the only way of doing this was to get the schools into universities. If schools remained part of art colleges, there was no one at the same philosophic level in other faculties. P.H. I think it was the A.J. at this period that criticised the Oxford Conference and the R.I.B.A. for getting tied up with the qualifications of architects and not education for a building team, and there had been a few discussions before this about broadening the scope of the education.....
> A. But I think it was necessary for the R.I.B.A. to concentrate on "what is an architect?" "what is his job?" "what qualifications does he need?" We were losing out on the A-level chaps, they were going into other professions, this was found statistically, and we had to do something about putting our own entry right and getting schools into universities, before you could get very far with the building team." A1.

However, one key respondent, and only one, did mention the question of degree and depth of intellectual and theoretical training, though again in comparison with other professions. He was an architect with experience of government work, private practice and education:

> "By then I felt that architectural education and training lacked the requirements of intellectual depth and the scientific attitude which I thought were necessary for performance at the present time. I was struck by the absence of any real research - a contrast between our profession and engineers - I had originally been trained as an engineer, and been through rather a hard scientific training. I've had contact also with the medical profession, and seen their attitude to scientific research, and I thought our profession was sadly lacking in this. We would need to raise our academic standard to that of other professions and to raise our entry standard was the surest and safest way of making sure this happened. Having done that everything else follows, you get a body of students coming in who won't tolerate inadequate teaching - snowball effect." A7.

(v) Criticism of the educational strategy amongst architects and a statistically based justification for the managerial elite.

It is perhaps significant that almost the only consideration of architectural office practice at the Conference was raised in terms of the barrier between practice and training. But there was very little discussion of the differing natures of practice and training situations, which give rise to such barriers. As the A.J. commented after the Conference, what was needed next was a forecast of of the future shape of practice in order to reorganise the content of courses, for,

> "the content of present training is too academic and too isolated from the industry (the report briefly recognises this) and the consequence has been a rather uncertain public confidence in the architects' ability to control costs and appreciate the clients' problems." (1)

A similar criticism, together with a wider ranging critique of the gaps in the conference, was developed in a letter to the R.I.B.A.J., from junior Associate members of the R.I.B.A. in September of 1958. While applauding certain developments - the recommendations for raising entry standards, full time courses and post graduate courses - the writers pointed out,

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(1) A.J. leader "Education the full report", 22.5.58, p. 756.

> "But no picture of the form that architectural education should take (as distinct from the institutions in which it should occur) emerges from the report nor any indication of the standards by which an architectural training should be judged..... The question of standards is, of necessity, bound up with the architect's function in society, and professional status will depend on his discharge of that function. It is difficult to avoid the thought that the conference, consciously or not, was influenced by considerations of status, since its conclusions were in many instances foreshadowed by the paper, "Some thoughts on Professional Status." This would be a case of the cart before the horse. If architects are able, their status is assured, although excessive numbers may depress their income levels." (1)

The conference commented on the increase in the number of architects, they argued, but it did not "couple it with a policy for the logical control of recruitment into the profession". They criticised as an "illusion" any consideration of education without discussing education in relation to those people architects have to work alongside. They insisted that in fact the needs of the community had had very little discussion at the conference and that, "If architects are to be trained to fulfil their true function in society, some definition of this function is required." (2)

Some might explain this failure to explore in depth the future pattern of practice and its relationship to specific demands, in terms of the gulf between education and practice. However, it seems more likely, that with the recent setting up of the R.I.B.A.'s research and statistics section there was less inclination for general speculation and more emphasis on the facts that could be ascertained.

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(1) R.I.B.A.J., September 1958, vol. 65 p. 391, written by five associate members of the R.I.B.A. and one Fellow.

(2) Ibid. While a firm statement or commitment to architectural function may be impossible, or unwise at the least, it is clear that this criticism has been heeded ten years later. For in April 1970 the R.I.B.A. organised a Cambridge Educational Conference, which was preceded, by one year, by a discussion paper, "the Architect in 1988". One of the joint authors was a leading figure at the earlier Oxford Conference, Lord Llewlyn-Davies.

At the conference itself and in the Report of the Committee set up to consider the Oxford Conference recommendations (presented to the Council in September 1959), there is a noticeable reliance on figures. (1) Such statistics offered a degree of control through qualified prediction. The Report argued in supporting the raising of the entry standard to 2 A-levels, which R.I.B.A. Council had already approved, that this was not likely to result in an absolute decline in professional membership, as some had suggested. (2) It was anticipated that of the 900 new entrants each year from all sources, 500 came from Recognised schools and would represent the future annual entry. (3) The effect of the recommendation of raising standards to 2 A-levels would leave approximately 28 'recognised' schools preparing students - 9 in universities, 13 in art colleges, 4 in technical colleges, and 2 independent. The 9 schools 'listed' for full time preparation for R.I.B.A. external examinations and the 37 merely with 'facilities' for architectural instruction (and not recognised for purposes of exemption from R.I.B.A. examinations) would be phased out.

(vi) Limited control of the policy making elite over the implementation of the educational strategy.

There is little doubt of the importance of this Report, and the Conference from which it had emerged, in shaping educational developments in the 1960's. As the Board of Architectural Education's Annual Report for 1969 put it,

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(1) "Report of the Committee on the Oxford Architectural Education Conference", R.I.B.A.J., November 1959, p. 4-18.

(2) R.I.B.A.J., April 1959, vol. 66, p. 203. Council decided that as from September 1961, the minimum entry standards would be: 5 subjects at O-level including English and Maths or Science, plus 2 subjects at A-level. There is no numerical evidence, but only a general feeling that the move to Universities has increased recruits, as university entrants for the first time perceive architecture as a possible degree course.

(3) No figure was, however, offered of the exit rate from the occupation.

> "As the 'Oxford Conference' in 1958 was the starting point for reforms in architectural education for the nineteen sixties, so it is hoped the 'Cambridge Conference' will perform a similar function for the nineteen seventies." (1)

Since, traditionally, educational developments have been very much within the control of the elite running the association, we might have expected that these strategic recommendations would be implemented without problems. However, in aspiring to transform all their education into University level courses, they had reckoned without the constraints of general Government educational policy.

Success was most easily achieved where the Board of Architectural Education of the R.I.B.A. had the most direct control, in raising the minimum entry standards to 5 O-levels and 2 A-levels. (2) But attempts to bring all architectural education into universities, given an initial fillip by the university expansion post Robbins, were rather soom limited by the Government's subsequent expansion of Polytechnics to counterbalance a more limited university expansion in the quinquennium of 1966-71. (3) Indeed, by 1968, the number of university schools had risen by only 5, to 14 of the 28 schools recognised as fully exempt from R.I.B.A. Final Examinations. In spite, or rather because, of this limitation, the R.I.B.A. made an important policy decision 1966/7 that by the early 1970's Recognition of courses would be based on a 'notion' of a Degree level, rather than a Degree proper, while the lower level 'facility' schools would be more 'positively discouraged'. (4)

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(1) B.A.E. Annual Report for 1969 (ED/D.2054/LB) p. 1

(2) cf. footnote 2 p. 158

(3) Higher Education, H.M.S.O., (1963)
White Paper (Cmnd. 3006) May 1966. Polytechnics.

(4) R.I.B.A. Educational Policy. R.I.B.A.J. Jan. 1967 p.6.
"The R.I.B.A. was the first of the professional institutions connected with the building and construction industry to raise its entry requirements to 2 A-levels. It has benefited enormously from this step, and has been attracting increasingly able recruits ever since. The time has now come to take the next logical step and set its standards at degree level rather than to use the more ambiguous terms of the Oxford Conference."

Institutional constraints impinging on their occupational world, such as government policy changes, prevented the managerial elite from implementing their policy in full, while a certain degree of internal opposition from the 'facility' schools slowed down their efforts to raise standards. Yet, the control which the emergent elite exercised over the educational field within the occupation, was considerable, compared with their influence over individual architectural offices and the implementation of their new strategy of management efficiency. This management policy, as initiated by the Ad Hoc Committee and developed in the Office Survey and the Management Handbook, essentially had to be implemented at the grass roots of the occupation.

There was one area of occupational activity, however, in which they were able to gain almost complete ascendency, namely, in the political processes of the occupational association itself. If the Oxford Conference was an exercise in educational strategy formulation, the events of the following month, May 1958, saw the managerial elite take over positions of power from which to implement this policy.

(vii) "The Palace Revolution" (1)
Challenge to the 'old guard' - and victory.

A most ominous public salvo was fired across the bows of the Council in a letter published in the A.J. just two weeks before the A.G.M. that year. It was a hard hitting critique of the Council's proposals for higher subscription rates and reduction in expenditure on public and professional activities, to counteract the financial crisis precipitated by incorrect estimates of funds required for the building alterations at the Institute's headquarters.(2) In it Mr. Cleeve Barr and Mr. Anthony Cox castigated the Council for a "remarkable state of complacency and failure to appreciate the needs of the profession", adding, "We believe that the constitution of the Council itself, which is undemocratic and unrepresentative of the general body of members is the main reason for the

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(1) Several of the key informants referred to "the palace revolution".

(2) A.J. 1.5.58, vol. 127 p. 642. "R.I.B.A.'s serious failure". The authors were both in government employment.

gulf which exists between the feeling and needs of members and the action of the Council." (1) At an unusually packed meeting the censure motion echoing these sentiments and advocating constitutional reform was carried almost unanimously by about 500. (2) It was suggested to me by one of those present, a public authority architect, that there were in fact more private architects at this vital meeting than public architects, but, he pointed out, this did not,

> "mean any unity of views between these private and salaried people except common opposition to get rid of the old gang. Lots of chaps were against the subscription level. When there was a push against the establishment, initiative came from the salaried people, but private chaps jumped on the bandwagon - some had private grouses, there was tension between the provinces and London.... It was an explosion against the rearguard, partly against their insistance on private practice as being the dominant form, instead of recognising official architects fully and openly and partly for their handling of finances. And we got in Gordon Ricketts, he was very good and forward looking, not as Secretary, but as public relations, to do statistical studies on which to base claims for the needs for the expansion of the profession, diversification and training.... there was no doubt that this was the thing at issue rather than the level of salaries and the fact that we were getting damn all for our fees from the R.I.B.A." A1.

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(1) See above p116 for the figures on differential representation on the Council.

(2) The actual wording of the motion was as follows, expressing "grave concern at the state of the Institute's affairs as revealed by the Report and considering it to reflect not only business inefficiency, but also a failure to appreciate the needs of the profession. It believes it is necessary, in order to remedy this state of affairs, both to revise the financial policy and to reform the Council to make it more representative of the general body of members...." A.J., 15.5.58, vol. 127, p. 744.

Action followed; a Constitutional Committee, chaired by Mr. Cleeve Barr, was set up and its Final Report was accepted within the year by Council, in April 1959. (1) This allowed for a much higher degree of direct representation. Whereas previously, 33 Council members had been elected in national elections, a further 30 nominated by Allied Societies and 3 nominated by the Council itself, in future all Council members were to be elected by Regional or national votes. (2)

These constitutional changes were to be accompanied by a complete re-structuring of the Council Committees. The Ad Hoc Committee and the Salaried and Official Architects Committee were to be merged into a new Professional Relations Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Stirrat Johnson-Marshall, a senior public architect, the eminence grise, of the Ad Hoc Committee. (3) This committee was to be responsible for the statistical enquiries. The public relations committee, although not newly constituted, was working to a much wider brief, including redesigning all the R.I.B.A.'s publications and planning an exhibition entitled, "Meet the Architect in your life". And the Cost Research Committee (set up in 1956) was to be reconstituted as the Management Committee, under the chairmanship of another senior public architect, Mr. Donald Gibson. The managerial elite had achieved positions of power in the occupational association.

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(1) A.J., 10.4.59, vol. 129, p. 381-4, Final Report accepted by Council.

(2) A.J., 4.12.58, vol. 128, p. 809. "Interim Report of the R.I.B.A. Constitutional Committee".

(3) See above p. 121-122.

SECTION B

Pressures to introduce a management strategy and the rationale of efficiency.

(i) Introduction

Architects, it might be argued, have always managed their offices and architectural projects, and claimed to be co-ordinators of the "building team". But, there was a new and increasing awareness of the need to remedy the inefficient way in which these claims had been fulfilled. Managing could be a very haphazard process, particularly in the small private office, as I discovered in my small sample survey. (1) The impression gained was of coping ad hoc with events rather than working to any system. "We stagger from one crisis to another" admitted one partner; "We're very unbusinesslike" said another; "it depends on how many times the 'phone goes", and another, "there are no rules - we treat every job as it comes - a natural progression". But, apart from remedying such deficiences, the managerial elite were particularly aware of new problems and indeed the new challenges arising from the scale and complexity of the building projects.

In this context, therefore, management refers to a variety of tactics, from the most simple to the most sophisticated, centring on the systematisation of office organisation, project organisation and the rationalisation of parts of the design process.

(ii) Factors affecting the emergence of management as an acceptable strategy amongst architects.

In considering the development of the management strategy, the differential experiences of those in authority in the various locales must be taken into account. We have seen that there were some architects in senior government positions who questioned whether the system of architectural education was producing personnel capable of fulfilling the new kinds of demands arising in public offices. The public authority

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(1) For a detailed discussion of the sample survey cf. Appendix III and IV. I decided to sample private practice since I expected to find the introduction of the managerial elite's management strategy arousing more problems in this locale than in government or other offices.

Guest Editors indicated that there were pressures operating within the public service which set them thinking in new terms of the function of the architect and the optimum organisation of architects' offices. (1)

A key respondent, an architect who had spent all his career in one type of government office or another, referred to the increasing emphasis on efficiency and management. He pointed out that there were certain pressures in public offices which were not appreciated by those in other work situations, who clung to notions of architecture as an art;

> "..... an increasing proportion of building was financed by public authorities, particularly education and housing, and they started setting cost yardsticks. Progressive architects, especially those connected with Hertfordshire and one or two other places, thought that cost yardsticks were a good idea and that the architect should contribute to evolving proper cost yardsticks and showing how you could get value for money in an office. Most of the profession acted against them, they thought that this was a restriction on design, that you couldn't create a work of art and know in advance how much it was going to cost - and this position is still maintained by some people. Now this is an old fashioned idea which is completely out of tune with the kind of client that one builds for. If you are building a folly for a millionaire it doesn't matter whether you cost plan it. But, if you're building for a public authority, you have to have management techniques which enable you to assess the resources needed, in terms of salaries and staff." A1

Apart from the pressures on each individual office, there was also the overriding awareness of the recent establishment of separate architectural offices at local and central government levels, with the consequent pressure to justify the existence of those already established and to provide a rationale for further developments. The R.I.B.A. Annual Report for 1952/3 illustrates this situation,

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(1) See above p. 108 - 111.

> "Strong representations have been made on behalf of one or two independent departments threatened with merger into building surveyors' departments and full support has been given in other cases where the establishment of other architects' departments is under consideration ..... this is one of the functions of the Society (City and Borough Architects' Society) to uphold the status of the municipal architect". (1)

Meanwhile, on the private front, partners in private practice were faced with alternate booms and slumps in general demand, making the fulfillment of work a very unpredictable process. (2) In addition, from about 1956 onwards, there was a noticeable swing in concern from the survival of private practice in the face of public sector competition, towards an awareness of the increasing threat from "package dealing" building contractors, employing their own design staff. As one private practitioner recalled, the pressures were several and they were interrelated.

> "My main impression was of competition from package dealers, clients and the building industry. And to some extent clients were saying that architects were not efficient, they were bumbling along and old fashioned. Certainly we were aware of pressures on the profession and the feeling that unless we did something we would be overtaken.... we were always said to have been the first profession to look at itself, for example, in the Office Survey. The main reasons for this were; firstly, in trying to solve the client's problems, which were compiled of social and economic factors, we were faced with the whole technological explosion after the war - structures, materials, methods, computers and so on. So, in order to give a good service we needed to use some process rather than intuition alone..... there was the realisation that the service needed to be improved. And secondly, there was the holier than thou attitude, if we don't do it, the package dealers will; or the clients will be so disillusioned with the products of architecture that they won't employ us - a protection racket if you like." A3

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(1) R.I.B.A. Annual Report, 1952/3 p. 14.

(2) See Appendix X for an indication of this situation; it was documented only later by systematically collected statistics.

The change in orientation and organisation of builders, as this private practitioner saw it, was confirmed by a public turned private architect,

> "Clearly, since the war the building industry has made itself much sharper about money matters, the old easy going relationship between builder and architect has just vanished. From the outset you have the builder watching to see where he can make money out of the project, if he doesn't get the right information at the right time he will lose and the action jumps straight back on the architect." A2

The R.I.B.A. Annual Report for 1955/6 referred, for the first time, to concern with competition from building contractors, announcing that the Salaried and Official Architects' Committee was investigating the complaint against individual architects working with building contractors. (1) And in the following year the Architects' Registration Council of the U.K. amended its Code, recommending that where architects were employed by building contractors, the latter must inform the client that the architect is responsible to the contractor who employs him and not directly to his client. (2) In the S.O.A.C.'s Sub-Committee Report of the following year, 1958, a suggestion that employees of contractors should be "outlawed" from the profession was rejected as "ineffective", for "the Sub-Committee saw the problem as a simple case of direct competition to be effectively countered only by achieving greater efficiency and ingenuity in the same field, or by offering an even better alternative." (3)

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(1) "Report of Joint Sub-Committee of the Practice and Salaried Architects' Committee appointed to look into the employment of salaried staff of Building Contractors." R.I.B.A.J., August 1958, pp. 348-52.

(2) R.I.B.A. Annual Report 1956/7

(3) The Committee's chief recommendation was a unification of the separate consultants' fees and higher level of efficiency: "It is evident that from the clients' standpoint one of the strong attractions about an all-in service is the apparent simplicity and certainty it offers in matters of fees and costs, and the convenience to him of dealing with one agent only. The Sub-Committee are convinced that there is accordingly much to be said for the private architect, in his capacity as leader, persuading specialist consultants to join with him in offering the client one consolidated fee. A consolidated fee, to accommodate the client, and a substantial rise in the technological and business efficiency of the profession, would go a very long way to meet the contractor's challenge in its present form and scope." op. cit. p. 349.

The challenge from the contractors offering an 'all in service' was seen as considerable although no quantitative estimate could be put to it.

Having attempted to isolate itself generally from trade connections early on in the nineteenth century, the occupation was being compelled by post war changes in the building industry to reconsider its relationship. The decision not to try to prevent architects becoming employees of contractors left the anomaly that the ethical code in fact only prescribed an architect from becoming a director of such a firm. (1) It raised,

> "the long acknowledged, but increasingly noticeable dilemma of whether and how much further an architect should be allowed, if he wants to, to become an integral part of the building industry or whether, in fact, current professionalisms is too rigid to meet the challenges of the day." (2)

The arguments for keeping or altering the Code to allow architects to take up positions in the building industry, are illustrative of the opposed artistic and commercial orientations. Contrary to Kaye's prediction of the demise of the artistic self-consciousness, it was placed in opposition to

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(1) Ibid. p. 350, R.I.B.A.J., 1959, p. 376-8 "The architect's place in the building industry - reflexions on Clause 5 of the Code of Professional Conduct."

(2) R.I.B.A. Annual Report, 1959.

an ideology based on notions of management, cost consciousness and efficiency. The Ad Hoc Committee outlined several arguments for prohibiting architects becoming directors of building firms: (i) the architect must remain independent, the arbiter between client and contractor, devoid of special interests or motives of personal profit; (ii) "The architect is primarily concerned to create beautiful, efficient and soundly constructed building. The contractor is primarily concerned to make a profit. The two interests are incompatible, and to mix them is to subjugate art and comliness to expediences of cost, profit and technical convenience." (1) They saw fears for professional integrity and good design as solid arguments for maintaining the Clause, although the "historical legacy" of the "status gap" between builder and architect and the feeling that trade and profit are "both disreputable and vulgar", it was admitted, coloured people's feelings. (2) A variety of merits of architects' becoming directors were aired, including the spreading of knowledge of architecture to the contracting firms themselves. However, the first point raised had an increasingly familiar ring;

> "A change should bring into the councils of the R.I.B.A., and, therefore, into the thinking of the profession, a keener business sense, and a fuller understanding of cost and technology as seen from the contractor's standpoint - with perhaps some significant consequence for architectural education." (3)

With this background on developments in the public sector and the challenge of the package dealer, or 'all in service', it is not difficult to understand the increasing awareness, both from public and private architects, of the need for a more business-like approach to the practice of architecture,

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(1) Ibid. p. 376.
(2) Ibid. p. 377.
(3) Ibid.

although it does seem, at first sight, divorced from all their immediate and traditional ideologies.

I am not seeking to explain the growing concern with efficiency and management strategies as determined purely by the work and market experiences of certain groupings. (1) Such experiences create the propensity for such concerns.

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(1) In this section I have indicated only the major structural factors operating directly on architects, which appear to be related to the emergence of this new emphasis on cost consciousness and management. However, in interviews several interesting sidelights were thrown on the development of such ideas in individuals, namely student experience and army experience. One architect had been a student at the Architectural Association after the war, "But without realising it we had tried to develop modern management methods - we were all for group working, although we didn't realise at the time that we were looking for systems of 'organic' organisation rather than 'mechanistic' ones and that bosses versus slaves wouldn't work. We were not influenced by the staff. Amongst the students there were a number of anarchists and we had all educated ourselves to the point where there was no office we were happy in. We were all appalled by the rigid, autocratic framework of most public and private offices and also appalled by the sheer inefficiency of the offices we went into - none measured the cost of time spent on design, they just looked at the balance sheet at the end of the year. The bosses in most offices were chaps who hadn't learnt anything from the army management methods. There is no doubt in my mind that those who set up the Ad Hoc Committee and turned the old guard out of the R.I.B.A. were those who had learned management in the army." A5. One architect, to whom A5 specifically referred, had previously commented on the influence of his army experience: "My generation and the one just after did go through the war. Depending on what happened to you, it was a fairly salutary experience. The simple job of moving a unit from A to B in the right order indicated that you had to be fairly efficient. We found that a lot of the people we were working with were much brighter in these ways than we were - another spur. I think a lot of techniques that we use have come, consciously or not, from the fact that we were staff officers during the war. In my case, the whole idea of development by the user instead of by the industry grew out of my last two years in the war." A2. Another architect who has spent most of his working life in private practice also referred to wartime experiences. In explaining his early attempts to analyse and plan projects, "I think it just happened, but why it happened must have been one's war time training. In war one was engaged on an operation of destruction, afterwards on an operation of construction, but the emphasis was on the term operation." A3.

Here again I wish to stress the salience of the comparative element, of the awareness and openness, albeit inevitably selective, of people in one occupational situation to the developments in another. As an architect in private practice concluded, having discussed the significance of the development of cost programming by government departments, the diffusion of ideas is highly significant,

> "Now cost planning has been adopted by everybody, even private enterprise; like all these things I don't believe original ideas occur to one person, if they do they are a genius. It is something one absorbs from society as a whole, it was being done in industry and other places." A8.

Although such practices were common in industry, as he pointed out, it was significant that this was not made great play of. Industry was not a reference group favoured by the professions.

(ii) Changing legitimations.

From the literature on the conflict of bureaucratic and professional values, we would have expected to find controversy over the decline in professional autonomy, as a result of the introduction of a strategy of bureaucratisation.(1) In the event, my empirical data held some surprises; in the first place, there was an almost complete absence, at this time and on this issue, of the typical professional claims for autonomy founded on theoretically based expertise, and in the second, architects in my small sample, indicated that they felt that there were positive advantages in the standardising aspects of the new measures. (2)

Where there was opposition to the bureaucratic character of many of the new measures, it was couched in terms of the rationale of architecture as an art - a rationale old established amongst architects, if unique amongst those occupations claiming to be professions. It was the intuitive element, rather than any theoretically based technical competence, on which claims for freedom or autonomy were based. This position was described by one of the key respondents, who had moved from public into private practice. He made an interesting distinction between the old guard, who might have been expected to adopt such a stance out of interest in thwarting new policies of the challenging elite, and those who were more disinterestedly

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(1) cf. Kornhauser op. cit.

(2) cf. Tables 24-29.

committed to this view of architecture;

> "Of course, there was very strong feeling at the time amongst architects against management, because it was felt to be inimical to creative design. And not just from the old guard, but from people who called us rationalists; they thought that architecture was an art and once you forgot that you lost your stock in trade. I was always a confirmed rationalist, I thought that pleas for freedom were just a sloppy excuse for being left alone to do what you liked and I believe you get good architecture out of a dialectic between user, client and supplier". A5

These divisions were pointed out also by a private architect who was very involved at the time,

> "Management was a dirty word at the R.I.B.A., they would not have a mangement committee. But, 'cost control' was in the clients' interest. A lot of people were very worried - couldn't understand the need for the architect's office to be businesslike.... But there still exists to this day extremes; those who think it (management) is important and who claim other architects are long haired artists who couldn't care about ruining the client, and those looking at control of any sort as purely an inhuman machine and, therefore, not architecture. But, I think, this is inherent in the very nature of architecture itself. It is not just a straight sculpture in concrete - you'd be a sculptor then. It has got some social implication, the contract is with the client and the client is society in some way or another." A3.

The failure to use the traditional professional rationale need not surprise us if we recall the very limited theoretical base that could be claimed for architecture at this time; the need to develop such a theoretical framework through research had been recognised at the Oxford Conference, but given second place to the implementation of higher entry standards and the teaching of higher level university level courses. Meantime, in an effort to shore up their authority within the building team, the managerial elite turned to developing an expertise as managers and co-ordinators. Operating within very loose knit organisational settings, of ephemeral "building teams", they seemed to be developing notions of themselves as free floating senior executives, offering the types of skills that go with successful organisational leadership, but which they could in no way claim were unique to architects.

Once again, as in the study of the nineteenth century, it is easier to pin point the stance of those claiming architecture as an art, than those offering alternative rationales. We are confronted again with the paradox of architects basing their autonomy claims on grounds very different from the other professions. There does seem to be some continuity between the goals and means of Kaye's "professionals", whose chief concern was to maintain a market by fulfilling the client's demands, regardless of autonomy, and the position taken by the managerial elite, who were also concerned to fulfil the clients' demands more efficiently. However, one significant difference emerges; while nineteenth century "professionals" were developing new institutional forms, distinct from those of commerce, the managerial elite were advocating "coming to terms with the market place" and abandoning their traditional, totally separatist, course. The R.I.B.A. Secretary, Gordon Ricketts, put this distinction and the need for a decision, to the profession,

> "whether to regard architecture as an integral part of building and act accordingly; or sharpen the distinction between them, widening the gulf between the artist-consultant on the one hand, and the commercial constructor on the other? Whether, if the "separatist" course is taken, that will restore whatever dignity, prestige and influence the profession is thought to have lost, or merely invite the modern world of big business and high finance to bypass the profession and let it quietly fade? Whether, in the times ahead, one can maintain architecture balanced on the razor edge between an art and a profession inevitably lacking some freedoms of the one, yet foregoing many of the opportunities of the other? Whether in professional conduct matters to go in for a brief Code.... or to retain a detailed code....." (1)

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(1) R.I.B.A.J., April 1960. "Comparison of Professional Incomes", p. 199-200.

SECTION C

The Policy Formulating Elite and The Grass Roots - Problems of Communication and Implementation.

(1) Introduction

In an attempt to find solutions to two related problems, the challenge to the architect as leader of the building team and the general low status and remuneration of architects, certain members of the managerial elite were commissioned, in the earlier 1960's, to discover and make public the prerequisites of a more satisfactory standard of service. While the Office Survey team based their recommendations on an empirical study of those practices which were reputed to produce the best work and possess the most effective organisation, the authors of the Management Handbook took the conventional management literature as their source of management strategy. (1)

In the event of the Management Handbook probably vies with the Office Survey as the R.I.B.A.'s least read best seller of the decade. But even if the strategies which these publications put forward were not directly assimilated, they did permeate through the occupation by formal means and informal. But, the urgency with which the A.J. received the third instalment of the Handbook in 1965, raised the question of whether the diffusion of new strategies was proceeding quickly enough, "Whatever its faults the Handbook is the most important document that architects have ever received; they must read it, learn to act upon it and help to improve it, or resign their leadership for ever." (2)

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(1) I have frequently used the shortened names, used amongst architects, for these two publications. The Office Survey refers to "The Architect and his Office". R.I.B.A. 1962 and the Management Handbook to "The Handbook of Architectural Practice and Management, R.I.B.A. 1963, 1964 and 1965.
The office survey team consisted of one senior architect each from public authority and from private practice, together with a management consultant. They were helped by the R.I.B.A. staff. The Management Handbook editor only is referred to, J.A. Powell, F.R.I.B.A.

(2) A.J., 21.7.65, p. 117.

It was essential that this new strategy should have effect at the grass roots of the occupation, changing patterns of organisation and raising standards of service in the individual office and for the individual architect. Unlike traditional professional strategies, which have been implemented by an occupational elite, be they practitioners or educationalists, the raising of standards of service required effort by individual practices, by partners in particular, but also by staff. Yet, exhortation by the occupational association is only one of a series of pressures to which individual practices and individual architects are subjected, in their various attempts to "make out" in their particular worlds. (1) It is quite likely, as we saw in the earlier institutional developments amongst architects, that the long term interests of the occupation as a whole, will not neatly mesh with the short term interests of the occupation - of the individual practice or the individual architect.

To obtain some idea of the way in which these new R.I.B.A. strategies had been implemented at the grass roots, and the extent to which they had become strategies of individual practices and individual architects, I undertook interviews in a small sample of private architectural practices. (2) Inevitably, I had to select particular recommendations of the Office Survey for detailed investigation together with a particular sample, since its recommendations covered a wide range of areas relevant to the situation of the occupation as a whole. In the event, I concentrated on the divisions of work and responsibility in private architectural practices; specifically, on the creation of a new title and role of "architectural technician" and on the promotion of new career structures, together with the processes of standardisation; standardisation of office procedures, of project organisation and standardisation of part of the design function itself.

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(1) cf. H. Becker, "Personal change in adult life", Sociometry, 27, 1964, p. 40-53.

(2) cf. Appendix III onwards for details of this sample survey.

(ii) An example of feedback between sociologists' and actors' models in the Office Survey.

For architects, the significance of the Office Survey lay in its adverse findings. (1) For the sociologist (apart from the specific recommendations and the problems of implementation, which will be considered later) the Office Survey provides a particularly clear cut example of feedback between a sociologist's and actor's model.

The Office Survey developed a distinction between "centralised" and "dispersed" offices, a differentiation which could occur at all sizes of office. This distinction only emerged during the course of investigations. The "centralised" office referred to the centralisation of managerial authority and design initiative, combined with an emphasis on personal service offered by the partners, while "dispersed" offices were characterised by a "high degree of delegation of authority at low levels in the organisational structure ..... extensive job continuity, non specialisation and a wide range of work for the individual architect." (2) Such structural and ideological differences were maintained even when an office increased in size, as, indeed, very many had with the increase in demand for building towards the end of the 1950's. (3) Broadly speaking, the centralised office

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(1) Defining "the general standard of service" in terms of technical efficiency, managerial efficiency, and the standard of design, the Office Survey team concluded that their findings were not at all satisfactory. Curiously they found that technical efficiency was a stronger point in the offices visited than design standards, with management performance by far the least satisfactory aspect. See Office Survey, p. 22, 185.

(2) op. cit. p. 203, para. 5-8, a small "hybrid" category was also used, p. 205, para. B11.

(3) ibid. p. 33, para. 2.36.

showed a high standard of productivity and profitability but only adequate design and technical standards, while the dispersed office was the reverse. (1)

When interviewed, the member of the Office Survey team who had perceived and systematised this distinction, revealed that, in developing this typology, he had been very much influenced by the then recently published, study by Professor Tom Burns, "The Management of Innovation"; (2) what is more he had come across it by chance. The parallels that could be drawn between research and development scientists and engineers on the one hand and architects on the other had particularly struck this member of the Office Survey team. Innovation, he saw, as the central function of both. He had, therefore, found Professor Burns' distinction between "mechanistic" and "organic" systems of management very apposite to the situation in many architects' offices. (3)

Thus, we have a specific instance of feedback between a sociologist's model and the model of organisation developed by the member of the Office Survey team. Furthermore, there is evidence that a rather simplistic differentiation of "centralised" and "dispersed" offices has passed into the self-image of certain sections of the profession. In my own interviews, it was most unusual for partners to be unaware of this dichotomy, although they were often unfamiliar with the specific defining criteria. Significantly, it was less usual for staff to be familiar with this categorisation, and even more unusual for them to know of its source in the Office Survey. As this illustrates, communication between those in control of the occupational association and the grassroots is by no means assured.

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(1) ibid. p. 55 para. 2, 170.

(2) T. Burns and A.M. Stalker. The Management of Innovation. Tavistock Publications, London, 1961.

(3) This member of the Office Survey team saw the distribution of authority as the element of Burns' model most significant to the differentiation of types of architects' offices, although it might be argued that the "structure of control, authority and communication" is only one of eleven characteristics which Burns used to "polarise", "mechanistic" and "organic" management systems.

(iii) Problems of communication between the policy formulators and the grass roots.

The institutionalization of means of publicising and propagating their management strategy was regarded as urgent by the managerial elite. Not only was a Handbook of Architectural Practice and Management to be published, but a special office was created at the R.I.B.A., the Management Advisory Officer, with especial responsibility for organising management courses up and down the country. Amongst my own small sample of private practices the numbers who had attended such courses, whether partners or senior staff, seemed very small. If this sort of response is at all typical, these management courses could not have contributed as much as was hoped to the re-education of architects in management ideas and techniques. With regard to the communication of ideas and tactics to the grass roots, it appeared, in the private practices I visited, as if the staff were often far less aware of the policies being put forward in the name of the professional association, than were the partners. In response to questions on standardisation, most of the partners acknowledged the influence of R.I.B.A. policies on such institutionalization, while many of their staff perceived them merely, as idiosyncratic developments. (1) This seems a particularly interesting case of the activities of an elite being almost completely invisible to the grass roots of an occupation. It is possible to see how discontent could develop at the grass roots in spite of the reforming activities of an elite.

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(1) Unfortunately, this is based on impressionistic interpretation, as I did not obtain a full response to this question.

(iv) Constraints on the implementation of policy - from within and without the occupation.

Some idea of the constraints within which the policy making elite had to operate emerges from an examination of the fate of the Office Survey and Management Handbook recommendations, with particular emphasis on their policy of division of labour between the qualified and the unqualified involving the creation of the technician grade. Conflict, disagreement or even inertia, both within and without the occupation, may modify the most carefully formulated strategies.

The Management Handbook, seen by the Office Survey Team as the key to raising standards of service within the profession, came out in regular yearly instalments between 1963-65. In the three volumes, the authors covered the organisation of the architect's office and of the architectural project. They ranged from a general discussion of principles of management to specific recommendations concerning staff administration, office structure, conditions of service, contracts, accounting and offices services. Turning to the organisation of the project in the second volume, they outlined more formal legally sanctioned aspects of the professional engagement and the form of contract. These were filled out with the systematic establishment of general procedures and specific techniques for carrying through the different stages entailed in most projects. Although the formal separation of stages has subsequently been criticised as too rigid, it was the first specific attempt at the

level of the occupation as a whole, to systematise the variety of tasks implied in seeing a contract through. (1) Subsequently, it has been further operationalised in the R.I.B.A. Job Book, which provides a detailed check list of all the operations to be covered on the normal job.

The formalisation of the division of labour in architects' offices, together with the formalisation of the design process, were central themes of the Management Handbook. The division of the design process, and the attempt to allot particular tasks to particular personnel, aroused long standing concerns amongst architects about the possibility, or desirability, of separating design from non-design work. It was associated with the controversy over whether to introduce different grades of architect, or an architectural technician.

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(1) It seems appropriate at this point to outline the stages involved in the completion of a design project together with the type of work involved at each stage. Perhaps the most comprehensive outline can be found in the Handbook of Architectural Practice and Management. A Plan of Work in 12 stages is outlined with detailed description of the tasks to be done at each stage and the people directly involved. (Vol. 2, Part 3,220 Diagram). Rather than enter into too great a detail, I propose to give the titles of the 12 stages, which speak for themselves by and large.

Traditional Title:	Plan of Work Title:
Briefing	A. Inception B. Feasibility studies
Sketch Plan	C. Scheme design D. Detail design
Working drawing	E. Detail design F. Production Information G. Bills of quantities (Quantity Surveyor's costing) H. Tender action (letting the building contract)
Site operations	J. Project planning K. Operations on site L. Completion M. Feedback.

Rather than consider briefly the implementation of many management tactics, I propose to consider this area in more detail.

The general concern amongst architects with the question of a technician grade can be seen as an attempt to regularise the situation of the qualified and unqualified personnel. "Technicians are needed in architects' offices in order to raise productivity and standards of service", the authors of the Office Survey argued, they were not to be concerned with design but with "technical administration and the preparation of production information". The general argument behind this was offered by one of the key respondents, who also pointed to the fears of other architects.

> "There had been a debate for quite some years about dilution and the two tier profession. People said, for instance, that every decision that an architect makes is a design decision, the architect can't be said to be responsible for the design unless he's in control of every bit of it. And if you have lots of people in an office who have no conception of professional responsibility you have let this control go; but many architects are doing just this, mainly in the provinces, using unqualified people in great numbers compared with the professionally qualified architect, working them at rather depressed salaries, not letting them get any further training because they knew that they would then ask for double the pay. Some of them were very able and some damn good designers and produced better work than the fully qualified. There was no doubt that some offices were making use of them as poorly paid labour, and making a lot of money as a result. Another reason for objecting to technicians was the argument that if you legitimate technicians you legitimate that sort of practice. I felt that there always would be people like this in the building industry, that there never would be enough architects to go round or that the country could afford all that many, and in fact a lot of architecture is sheer drudgery and it will be years before you can put it on to machines. If there are people who prefer to do the detailed drawings rather than the imaginative stuff let's give them a living wage, some sort of professional trades union to belong to, so they can defend themselves against exploitation, and let's make sure that architects' offices are run in such a way that these people are not passed off as professionals to clients who are thus fooled....." A5.

Very great problems of defining and maintaining the boundaries between "professionally qualified staff" and those lacking professional qualifications emerge in an occupation such as architecture, only recently moving from education through office based apprenticeship to full time education in separate educational institutions. In such a situation of multiple points of entry, it is difficult to enforce higher entry requirements on would be practitioners. And it is equally difficult, if not impossible, to prevent the partially qualified and the failed candidates from practising alongside the fully qualified. In my sample it was relatively straightforward to differentiate the fully qualified architect from the rest, but amongst the other staff there was a tremendous range within the broad categories of technicians and also of "failed architects." (1) Since the technician grade had only recently been established, when I was interviewing, there was a range of more or less senior technicians holding the new qualifications but alongside them were others who had gained exemption from technicians' qualifications on the basis of longstanding experience. In developing the special qualifications for technicians, the managerial elite had taken advantage of wider government policies encouraging the growth of technical education. (2)

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(1) "Failed architect" is an actor's term, which I will use to differentiate this subgroup of the category of "unqualified architectural staff". cf. Table 2.

(2) So, the general staff sample can be divided into two sections: qualified architects (n = 33) and "unqualified architectural staff" (n = 27). The latter are subdivided into technicians (n = 17) and "failed architects" (n = 10). cf. Appendix VI, Table 1, (these staff are referred to in R.I.B.A. publications as an "unqualified architectural staff"). With regard to proportions of qualified and "unqualified staff", in every size category, the practices in my sample had a higher proportion of qualified to "unqualified architectural staff", than the national average. (R.I.B.A. Census of private practice 1968, cf. Table 33). The national average, for practices with ten or more staff was 45% qualified - in my sample only 2 out of 17 practices had less than 50% qualified. Although such discrepancies may indicate a biased sample, they also correspond with subjective impressions held at the R.I.B.A. about the particular region sampled. (cf. Appendix III p. viii).

However, another sub-grouping emerged from the general category of architectural staff without "professional qualifications". These were people who had started away on the qualification path leading to full architect's status, but who had failed their "professional examinations". One or two of them still had vague hopes that they might regain the architect's ladder by studying for the R.I.B.A.'s "external professional examinations" on a part time basis, others had given up hope of such a move. (1) Some of them fell into the technicians ten year experience category and joined the Society of Architectural and Allied Technicians, (one of those interviewed did this) the others remained, more or less out of choice, in an increasingly anomalous position of "failed architect".

In my small sample of private practices, it was clear that 7 years later there was still no complete break between the work of fully qualified architects and that of technicians and the other "failed architects". What is more, many partners were against creating such divisions.(2) About half the technicians and "failed architects" said they had some involvement in the earlier stages of the design process, although a similar proportion wanted it increased.(3) While qualified staff undertook far more design work, with some wanting more, they were, however, far more likely to see design as central to the definition of their role than technicians.(4)

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(1) A candidate can have four attempts at the External Examinations.
Looking at self attributed positions or titles, it is interesting that none of these people refer to themselves as technician or draughtsmen, preferring the more indeterminate titles of "architectural assistant" or "assistant". About a third of those with technicians' qualifications called themselves technicians, others referred to themselves as draughtsmen, apprentices or assistants. If these self attributed titles are any clue, an occupational title or hierarchy of technicians is emerging, but it has by no means displaced the other titles or gradations. cf. Table 2.

(2) cf. Tables 3.

(3) cf. Tables 4-5.

(4) cf. Tables, 4, 5, 7.

In sum, we see that although the elite have formulated a policy of differentiation, with particular emphasis on separating out the qualified from the unqualified - those who should have authority to make "professional design decisions" and those who should not - there is evidence of the tardy implementation of such policies. In my survey this was associated with an unwillingness on the part of both partners and staff to create and maintain such divisions. This unwillingness related, on the one hand, to widely held ideas and legitimations concerning the appropriateness of formal qualifications in the training of design staff. However, it was also associated with wider institutional pressures such as the level of demand for architectural skills and the different level of economic reward which different skills and qualifications could call forth. Partners were not prepared to debarr those without full professional qualifications from design work, firstly because they did not always perceive "professional qualifications", as guaranteeing design skills, and, secondly, because they could frequently employ technicians or "failed architects" more cheaply than the fully qualified.

Concluding remarks and some conjectures on the future of the managerial elite.

The new strategies of the managerial elite, taken up in the late 1950's and early 1960's, have been seen both as a response to the weak work and market situation of architects and also as emerging from the status orientation and the idealism of the new managerial elite running the occupational association. (1)

I would argue that the weak market and work situation of the occupation, as a whole and in its different sections, combined with the ideology of the newly established elite, propelled the elite into re-examining the position of the occupation earlier than, but by no means in isolation from, other professions. The issue of the architects' mandatory minimum fee scale was presented to the Prices and Incomes Board for scrutiny in 1966-7, but not before the solicitors' fee scale had also been investigated and questioned. (2) And during this very period of increasing, if fluctuating government intervention in the national economy in general and the market for professional services in particular, the government referred all the professions to the Monopolies Commission for an investigation of "restrictive practices". (3) The R.I.B.A., so far, has been able to parry the Prices and Incomes Board recommendation that its mandatory minimum fee scale should be abandoned, in favour of a guide line set, not by the association, but by an independent review body. The Office Survey had

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(1) Although I have little more than an impression of such idealism, I would argue that there is a very significant element in the occupational culture of architects.

(2) National Board for Prices and Incomes, Report on Solicitors' Remuneration, Cmnd. 3529, H.M.S.O., London, 1968.

(3) The Commission examined practices restrictive of: entry into a profession, fees, advertising, commercial relationships with clients and fellow professionals, etc.

recommended that the mandatory minimum fee scale be maintained, although this was to result in negotiations and arguments with the government, including the Prices and Incomes Board, for the next five and more years. At the R.I.B.A., it was felt that in such documents as the booklet specifying "Conditions of Engagement", it was offering clients extra and new safeguards, in far greater detail than ever before, although the problem of defining a detailed standard of service was still unsolved. (1) In the light of Bennion's suggestion that the standard of ongoing service was an aspect that professions had seriously neglected, the R.I.B.A. was probably justified in feeling that it had moved ahead of the other professions. (2)

At the time of writing it is not clear what sort of confrontation will be mounted between the occupation and the Monopolies Commission (for the government) in the light of the latter's initial general recommendation that many of the "restrictive practices" of the professions cannot be justified.

Far from the possibility of "the professionalization of everyone", we have the very real possibility of the decline in control, status and economic rewards of many established professions, decline, not merely as a result of limitations deriving from the organisational context of work, that Wilensky pointed to, but more generally from the limitation of established controls over a work area by government agencies.

I am suggesting that the particular development of a configuration of institutions, known as professionalization, originating in a particular period of laissez-faire market economy, and which successfully brought many occupations economic security, social and political influence and high social standing, may be undergoing a fundamental challenge in Britain in the late 1960's and early 1970's. As Goode has suggested, there is a fundamental difference in situation, and hence in the justification for "restrictive" professional institutions, between the "person" professions and the "managerial/technical" professions - a differentiation which

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(1) R.I.B.A. Conditions of Engagement.

(2) Bennion, op. cit., see above p.140.

the British Monopolies Commission, without studying Goode, implied in accepting as justifiable certain practices, restrictive in the strictly economic sense, but necessary to protect the individual. (1)

And what of the future of the R.I.B.A. and its institutional paraphernalia? Recently, the occupation has been experiencing a crisis of confidence, precipitated by financial problems, of a kind that has not been seen since the "palace revolution" of 1958. The challenging elite of 1958 are now the "old guard". Once again the voice of the recently silent salaried masses is to be heard, this time, demanding adequate representation on the R.I.B.A. Council.

Perhaps more intriguing still is the problem of the orientation of the association in the face of government pressure. Certain members of the managerial elite were very seriously considering abolishing certain traditional professional institutions, prior to the Monopolies Commission Report, although they were still standing firm on maintaining its mandatory minimum fee scale. Will elites change as a result of the current crisis in confidence? Whether they do or not, how will the employment and status situation of the elite affect its response to government restrictions? Perhaps those in power at the R.I.B.A. will take the suggestion of their Intelligence Unit, draw in their associational antennae and concentrate on defining and strengthening their major resource in, "the search for a stronger rational base for design."

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(1) Goode, op. cit. 1969.
cf. they concluded that practices restrictive of fees were unlikely to be justified, unless, "of a particularly personal nature or of whose quality the public are generally incapable of judging". op. cit. p. 78 para. 317.

CONCLUSION

From initial empirical observations, it became clear that the traditional professionalization model could not offer a satisfactory explanation of the recent process of occupational institutionalization amongst architects. The accumulation of more and more conventional professional traits, or institutions, did not guarantee architects, in their different situations, the control, status or economic rewards to which they aspired. Re-examining the literature, the overwhelming emphasis on the achievement of such goals seemed to blind sociologists to the significance of "deviant" cases, to the decline or modification of such attributes and the occupational processes underlying it.

What seemed to be needed was a far more dynamic approach, focussing on the institutional setting of an occupation, together with its internal differentiation and the strategic initiatives which they mediate. There was reference in the literature on professionalization to the salience of actors' perceptions and intentions, as well as the significance of the changing institutional milieu of an occupation, but they were never taken up systematically. These same aspects emerged as significant from the only study of the development of professional institutions amongst architects - Kaye's study of the nineteenth century. While these developments were clearly seen as a response to the laissez-faire market situation with which architects as a whole were confronted, Kaye's central functionalist framework led him to do less than justice to the actor orientation. This was emerging in his notion of dichotomised "viewpoints", conflicting ideologies or legitimations. In particular, the significance of internal differentiation, in terms of work and market, or even status, was introduced almost by default. A small historical case study, of an educational issue of the period, confirmed that Kaye's analysis of differing interests, as between senior established architects and the less established architects and the pupils, was substantially correct; but, he had not given it sufficient weight. Moreover, by introducing the notions of a conflict of

legitimations, between architecture as an art and architecture as a profession, he had focussed on a frame of reference internal to the occupation, while most activists of the time were justifying their claims in terms of wider notions. They legitimated their stance by comparison with other groups which they estimated were similarly placed. In spite of the limitations of my case study, I would argue that the strategic approach made salient aspects to which even Kaye's modified actor orientation did not do justice.

Turning to the more recent historical developments amongst architects, we have observed the refurbishing of traditional educational strategy and its co-existence with a strategy of management totally foreign to the architecture profession, indeed to all professions at this period. Both these strategies were preceded by demands for unionisation. Even if the conventional professionalization model could have predicted the development of educational strategies concerned with raising levels of competence, it certainly would not have anticipated the emergence of a strategy for the management of architectural offices, founded on a rationale of efficiency. If it could not have explained the emergence of such a radically new strategy, with its non-professional association with commerce, it certainly could not have handled the emergence of a strategy totally outwith the traditional status oriented framework - the strategy of unionisation.

This strategic activity occurred within a market and work situation unique to architects in their entirety, and differing in crucial respects for their various sub-groupings. In the early post war period, the occupation's traditional area of work was dominated by the government, by government departments as clients, by government departments laying down regulations for the design and construction of buildings and by government departments as employers of a greatly increased number of architectural staff. Private practitioners, and in particular the elite which was controlling the occupational

association in the early part of this period, defined the crucial problems of the profession in terms of the problem that private practice had in maintaining its market in the face of such government encroachment; an increasingly articulate group of senior government architects countered with other problems. Newly established in independent departments, and particularly aware of their inexperience in handling large and complex building programmes, these senior bureaucrats formulated educational and organisational strategies to meet these challenges. However, the salaried staff in these locales saw their problems in rather more circumscribed terms, in terms of inadequate salaries and unsatisfactory conditions of service. Architects in subordinate positions in government service became increasingly articulate in their demands for the occupational association to adopt a policy of unionisation.

In short, strategies were developed by differently placed architects in terms of the particular problems ~~that~~ with which their situations presented them. The solutions adopted were legitimated by the specific rationales that emerged, after negotiation, from the readily available repertoire of such legitimations.

While the elite of private practitioners espoused rather different policies from the emerging managerial elite of senior government architects, they were both infused with a status ideology, legitimated in terms of standards of service and the value of architectural services. By contrast, the salaried architects adopted a more class oriented position, arguing the need for representation in the government bargaining process. In the event, they achieved their own association, but not before their discontent had helped the managerial elite to unseat the elite of private practitioners. In the rush to implement the educational and managerial strategies of the new elite, the representation of salaried architects paled into insignificance beside the attempt to raise the status of the occupation as a whole.

Apart from the influence of work and market situation and

experiences on the development of strategies, it was clear that these architects, and in particular the managerial elite, were operating within the confines of complex feedback processes. Policies were [not only] assessed and legitimated in terms of the previous experiences of the occupation, but also in terms of a wider frame of reference. Their educational policy was legitimated in terms of similar developments in other professions, as distinct from the more conventional rationale of improving the theoretical basis of occupational skills. However, their choice of reference group was not always so open. In developing the management policy, architects in government offices and subsequently in private practice, were subject to very strong pressures to operate more efficiently to satisfy clients - be they government officials or large corporations - and to command more respect from other members of the building team.

Increasingly, feedback was not confined to that forthcoming from the architects' occupational milieu; it was available from the researches of outsiders and, in particular, from social scientists. A wide range of instances of feedback between sociologists' and actors' models has been offered. They have implications for the model building of sociologists as well as the strategy formation of occupational activists, encouraging the researcher to operate with a dialectical perspective.

In assessing the potential effectiveness of strategies and in monitoring their subsequent success, the elite of policy formulators could not but be aware of the constraints on implementation from within and without the occupation. In the case of educational policies, over which an occupational elite usually has had a wide measure of control, increased government influence in the higher education sphere and, specifically, the slowing down of the expansion of university education, prevented the managerial elite from implementing their policy to the full. Conversely, it was recognised from the start that the new management policy would pose great problems of implementation.

As a policy which essentially had to be implemented at the grass roots, in the individual office, disagreement and even plain inertia were likely to hinder its fulfilment. The results from a very limited sample of private practices confirmed this impression. However, the acceptance amongst so many architectural staff of the standardising aspect of the management strategy was a particular surprise, in view of the extensive literature on the conflict of professional and bureaucratic values.

Looking beyond this particular use of my strategic approach to explain the development of occupational institutions amongst architects, what are its more general advantages? By contrast with the traditional professionalization model, it allows the researcher to operate both on the level of the overall situation of an occupation and within the particular institutional context of individuals or groups of actors. While we may recognise the similarities between occupations, and indeed groups of actors, the regularities are not taken for granted. They are explained in terms of processes of feedback, both from comparative reference groups and researchers, and from the possibility of similar institutional contexts. A further advantage lies in the outward looking frame of reference of the approach. Many studies of professionalization have been bedevilled by a too narrow focussing on a single occupation, both for theoretical and practical reasons. In the strategic approach we are offered the opportunity to focus on one occupational area, yet a comparative element is an essential component of our analysis because of our awareness of the comparative frame of reference of actors themselves.

And finally, what guide lines can be offered for further research? It must be clear by now that for me the day of the traditional professional study is over,- the study which looked at the occupation as an undifferentiated whole, in isolation from its occupational and institutional milieu, and was satisfied to enumerate a theoretically predetermined set of strategies. Any new research, I would argue, should be operative at two

levels, at the level of the occupation as a whole and of the individual and groups of actors. While being constantly aware of the constraints imposed by the institutional context of an occupation, the researcher should focus on occupational activists as initiators of occupational strategies.

Rather than assuming homogeneity, the key question is, what are the potential sources of differentiation within an occupation? Which potentially divisive factors are, in empirical fact, translated into on-going divisions, with all that this implies in terms of differences of situation and experiences, perception and interest? But structural differentiation does not determine the emergence of occupational strategies. They are developed by activists in an on-going process of assessment and legitimation in which actors may be more or less committed to their strategic positions. We need to be able to map out the processes of feedback between actors and significant others, to gain an understanding of the wide range of points of reference and socially given legitimations from which they are selecting in order to assess and justify their strategies.

APPENDICES

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Appendix I

Stages/Elements in the Ideal Type Models of the Professionalization Process

SEQUENTIAL MODELS

Predictive

(1) CAPLOW

i. Professional Association
   - qualification as membership criteria
ii. Creation of new title
iii. Code of ethics
iv. Prolonged political agitation
   - training facilities
   - privileges of confidence etc.
   - rules of decorum elaborated
   - working relations established (after conflict) with related professional groups.

Descriptive

(2) WILENSKY

i. Full time occupation
ii. Established training schools.
iii. Professional Association
   - definition of central task
   - contest rearguard/newcomers
   - competition with neighbouring occupations
iv. Persistent political agitation to win support of the law
   - protect job territory, sustain code of ethics.
v. Formal code of ethics
   - rules to eliminate unqualified.

SCALE MODEL

Predictive

(3) MOORE

i. Occupation practised full time
ii. Occupation - calling "enduring set of normative and behavioural expectations"
iii. Formalization of organisation
iv. Specialisation of training
v. Service orientation
vi. Autonomy of practitioners.

CLASSIFICATORY MODEL

Descriptive

(4) MILLERSON

A. Essential elements
i. Professional organisation
ii. Code of conduct
iii. Skill based on theoretical knowledge
iv. Training and education for skill
v. Testing of competence
vi. Altruistic service.

B. Less Frequent elements
i. Application of affairs of others
ii. Indispensable public service
iii. Licenses (registered) sanction of the community
iv. Definite professional/client relationship
v. Fiduciary professional/client relationship
vi. Best impartial service
vii. Loyalty to colleagues
viii. Definite compensation
   - fixed charge/fee

Classifactory Model

Predictive

(5) GOODE

(i) Specialised knowledge base

- organised around abstract principles
- applicable to concrete problems
- relevant employers or clients must believe these principles exist and that they can appropriately be used to solve their problems
- specialised knowledge can only be judged as valid by the occupation itself
- access to the knowledge is controlled through recruitment and standardised training and examinations.

(ii) Service orientation

- the professional decision is based on the need of the client rather than the self interest of the professional
- the practitioner, not the client, defines what the latter needs
- the professional must make real sacrifices at certain points, e.g. forego income, or risk life or influence
- the profession must create a set of controls, since the collectivity orientation is not based on individual atruism, such that its members are more handsomely rewarded for sticking to the rules than neglecting them.
- the profession takes great trouble to select high quality candidates and give them a superior training.
- the profession's rules must be more strict than comparable ones set by society-wide agencies.

Appendix II

Interviews with "key architects"

These interviews were undertaken to increase my understanding of the documentary material I was gathering, by gaining some appreciation of the perspectives and aims of the individual actors concerned. Naturally recollections of events spanning two decades are liable to distortions; they are of very different status from the quotations and comments recorded during the actual period under study. However, to the extent that these interviews corroborated certain themes and explanations which emerged from the documentary evidence and, indeed, where they pointed to hitherto un-noticed relationships, they have proved useful in deepening my understanding of the processes which I have been studying.

The selection of "key interviewees" was made initially from the documentary evidence, from the people reported to have been most involved directly or indirectly. Two or three such people were approached initially and subsequently the number snowballed, through further recommendations. The letter which I wrote to these key individuals outlines my reasons for approaching them and refers to the way in which my respondents were defined and selected for me by the individuals who had been deeply involved in the events I was studying.

"Dear ....

> "May I ask for your help in connection with a research project which I am carrying out from this department, as a Ph.D. candidate. The focus of the project is on the changing situation of the architecture profession since the Second World War. My main interest is in the R.I.B.A.'s response to these changes and some of the effects of the policies on education and management, on private practice and the role of the individual architect.

> "As an individual PhD candidate, my resources are very limited in relation to the scope of the topic. My historical data has to be limited to the range of material available in the back numbers of journals, the R.I.B.A. Annual Reports and so on, while my research into private practice is limited to Scotland. However, in order to learn a little more about the crucial period of the 1950's and early 1960's, I am approaching a number of poeple who seem to have played key roles at this period. Earlier in the summer I was able to have a talk with ... They both strongly recommended me to approach you as soon as possible.
>
> "Since I saw them, I have been fully occupied in finishing my interviewing in Scotland. This period is now coming to a close. I would very much value the opportunity of discussing your part in the events leading up to the Office Survey and the Management Handbook and your general recollections of this period."

No one who was approached refused an interview, indeed they were all extremely helpful in suggesting further sources of material and other individuals involved. In all I interviewed 10 "key respondents" of whom 8 were architects and two members of the R.I.B.A. staff. All the interviews except one were tape recorded, a procedure with which they were all exceedingly familiar and at ease. (1) The interviews were guided by a series of topics on which I wished to hear the comments of each respondent, but they were in no sense structured and the topics were modified according to the particular part played by the individual.

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(1) The one respondent who refused to allow me to use one, argued that members of staff often used such a procedure and that the time taken to transcribe such data was usually wasted!

Appendix III

I The practice sample - general

The problem of representativeness

Stratifying the sample

The sample size and problems of response rate.

Some comments on the role of the researcher.

II The partner interviews

Questions of reliability and validity

Statistical treatment

III The staff sample

Problems of access and representativeness

Drawing the staff sample - problems of the sampling frame.

Statistical treatment

Addendum

This discussion of the sample survey is now out of all proportion to its significance in the research, as it has finally developed. However, I have decided to let it stand almost completely unchanged. In order to make even limited use of any of the material as a source of a short discussion of the problem which the elite faced in implementing its strategies at the grass roots, it is necessary to discuss the adequacy of the sample itself.

Appendix III

I The Practice Sample - general

The problem of representativeness

For practical reasons, as a lone researcher with approximately half my resources devoted to a socio-historical investigation of "the architectural profession," I decided to restrict the universe of private practices under investigation to a particular R.I.B.A. region. (1) Such a drastic limitation of the universe could, I felt, be justified on the grounds that the examination of these practices was intended to elicit trends rather than to test specific hypotheses. A little data was available as to the chief areas of bias which would inevitably be introduced, from R.I.B.A. statistics and from individuals' perceptions of the total occupational world. Statistics gathered in 1964 by the R.I.B.A. indicated that the region housed the largest concentration of architects in Great Britain, after London and Birmingham, namely 745 of a total of 13,187 in private practice at the time. Similarly its total of 62 practices came third in the league table of similar areas, although interestingly enough it shared this position with two other areas, which each accounted for 300 less architects, implying that practices in the region were larger than average. As this set of figures would have it, the area's average (mean) of 12.0 architectural staff per practice was most closely rivalled by an adjacent area's 11.6, with London's 9.1 in fourth position. (2) Less objective, if more up to date, information or impressions filled in the picture a little further. I was given to understand, at the R.I.B.A. Research Department and by numerous

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(1) However, in order to uphold my promises of confidentiality to the larger practices in the regions, I felt justified in reporting to my respondents and all other enquirers that the sample covered a considerably wider area. Within this wider universe, which I had drawn on for pilot investigations, it became more possible to disguise the identity of some of the larger practices which dominated the particular region.

(2) R.I.B.A. statistics. PSD/M274/67.

other more local architects, that the main characteristics of the region's practices, compared with an adjacent region for example, were that they catered for a wider variety of markets and that they undertook a higher than usual amount of "prestige" work, i.e. work governed less by financial constraints than by the need to make a certain kind of impression. Of course, these perceptions as to the likely bias incurred by such drastic geographical limitation cannot be verified in any way. (1)

Stratifying the sample

As a sampling frame I was given access to the 1968 R.I.B.A. Census of Private Practice and from this I was able to compile a list of 50 practices in the region which reported that they operated on a full time basis. (2) However, as I had learned from initial enquiries that practices varied widely in many respects and as I was particularly interested in certain characteristics and their relationship to the development - or

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(1) I did in fact collect some data from practices on type and geographical location of work but as yet have no other data to compare it with. Perhaps I should add that had the question of bias been quite vital, if I had been attempting to test hypotheses rather than ascertain trends, I might have been given access to more detailed Private Practice Census statistics from which I might have been able to make comparisons between the region's practices and other practices in the British Isles, in terms for example of numbers and ratios of partners, qualified and unqualified staff.

(2) See below Appendix V for discussion of the type of sponsorship undertaken by the R.I.B.A. and my corresponding obligations. Part-time practice is a rather common occurrence in the architectural profession encompassing such varied situations as the employee architect who aspires to set up his own practice, the architect desperately clinging to the vestiges of a failing practice, together with lecturers in architectural schools who are allowed to undertake private work alongside their academic commitments. (The R.I.B.A. are tending to encourage full time academic commitment in recent years and to increase the value placed on academic work to encourage recruitment into architectural schools). Although a fascinating area of study in itself, I felt that the inclusion of such practices, alongside full time ones of increasingly complex organisational form, would have dissipated my meagre resources, make categorisation and analysis even more complicated, not to mention the problem of actually defining "part-time practice" as opposed to odd spare time jobs. cf. p xxii for the further problems in establishing a sample and the demise of a number of hitherto full time practices.

lack of development of occupational strategies, I determined to stratify this universe of 50, and sample randomly within the strata. The stratifying criteria I was most interested in were the major client commitment of a practice and related to this, the major type of building work undertaken, together with the practice size. The size of a practice, it was evident from different spheres of discussion amongst architects, was a highly changeable variable, particularly in the depressed conditions of the building industry. So I turned to the other criteria first. But if the problem of staff turnover was with me at many points in the establishment of the two samples, illustrating certain features of the occupation's market problems, my failure to develop other stratifying criteria taught me about other facets of the architectural world. In an attempt to differentiate the practices in terms of major client and/or major building commitment it seemed feasible initially to tap architects' knowledge and perceptions of what many of them felt was a relatively integrated occupational world. However, although I gained the co-operation of the then President of the local branch or "chapter" of the R.I.B.A., and a member of the staff of one of the local architectural schools responsible for placing students in practices in their year of "practical training", it soon became evident that they were not familiar with the names, let alone the activities of many local practices. (1)

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(1) cf. The Architect and his Office, op. cit. p. 33. The degree of isolation of practices was singled out in this extensive study, being emphasised by the same sort of questioning that I experienced in my investigations, "One feature which almost all offices had in common was a desire to know how their practice compared with others, and if there was some way in which their own methods of working might be improved. And yet most offices seemed to work in virtual isolation one from another... This isolation could be found even among working groups within the same office. The attitude that each problem, whether of office organisation or of design, must be tackled de novo is one which must be highly uneconomic for the profession and the building industry." para. 2.35. Several partners commented to me during subsequent interviews that an unexpected bonus of attending the R.I.B.A. sponsored management courses was the chance to learn from the experiences of other practices, that the informal interaction and learning from colleagues was often more useful than the formal management talks themselves.

Thus I had to return to the specific problems and advantages of size as a stratifying criterion. The very real problems of fluctuations in size of practices and the reliability of size as a stratifying criterion are disconcertingly well illustrated in the saga of my actual attempts to draw a sample. (1) Suffice to say at this point that the advantages of being able to make certain comparisons using the R.I.B.A. practice statistics (particularly important as the representativeness of my own samples was to be such an unknown quantity) and the difficulty of systematising other variables made size the only practical criterion.

The sample size and problems of the response rate.

Having selected a small geographical area I hoped to achieve a higher sampling fraction than would have been possible with a scattered sample. In the event I achieved a 50% coverage of practices. But, unfortunately, owing I feel to the ever increasing economic problems of the building industry in general and private architectural practice in particular during the last half decade, it was accompanied by a high non response rate. (2) Having very little idea what sort of response rate I could expect, and anticipating a second stage as I was verging on the holiday period in June 1969, I drew a random sample of 21 practices stratified by

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(1) cf. p xxii

(2) The increasing gravity of the economic situation facing the profession can be illustrated from the objective data collected by the R.I.B.A. (cf Appendix X), quarterly returns from private practice as to the amount of work entering and passing through the office, together with the perceptions of those architect actors and informed observers of the architectural profession. In January 1970, in a leader entitled, "A nasty shock for British architects", The Times reported that the R.I.B.A. President had written to the Minister of Public Building and Works registering "dismay" at the decrease in value of new commissions coming to the profession. Putting the recent figures into perspective the leader continues, "Perhaps the greatest significance of the new commission figures is that they emphasise the declining proportion of total building activity which passes through private architects' practices... During this period (1964-69) total building output had moved steadily upward - at least until 1969 when building went into something of a recession." 5.1.70

size, from the R.I.B.A. Private Practice Census lists for the region. (1)

Had the universe of practices I was using as a sampling frame been larger than 50 and had the R.I.B.A. size categories been fewer, it might have been appropriate to use the same proportion from each local size stratum as it contributed to

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(1) Regarding likely response rate, the Office Survey was my only indicator; it used both interviews and postal questionnaires. While the authors give details of their disappointing, 42%, response from private practice (87% response from local authority) to their postal questionnaire, with 20% not prepared to co-operate and 33% failing to acknowledge the R.I.B.A. President's initial letter, no details are given about the response rate of the interview sample. I assume that they achieved 100% response; but then their chief selection criterion was reported high standard of service to the client - what practice could resist after such favourable labelling! op.cit. pp 21-23, p. 191.
Regarding the R.I.B.A. Private Practive Census, in order to maintain a degree of confidentiality, I was given copies of the computer hand out sheets with the code names only and having drawn the sample the Research section de-coded the sample, giving me office names and addresses. The question of confidentiality and relationship to the R.I.B.A. as partial sponsors will be discussed in Appendix VI.

the total national universe. (1) However, here there would have been a problem of the validity of criteria used to define representativeness; it is a feature of the occupation at this

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(1) The size categories, which I took straight from the R.I.B.A. statistics, in order to gain the benefit of direct comparability, were based on totals of "architectural staff". As the description for the 1968 Census outlines, it includes staff with a variety of qualifications participating in the design process. Category 0 = 1-2 architectural staff; category 1 = 3-5; category 2 = 6-10; category 3 = 11-30; category 4 = 31-50; category 5 = 51+. The concern with differentiating the smaller practices, evolved during the first R.I.B.A. statistical studies in the early 1960's reflects the significance of the smaller practices at this period. However, the Office Survey, for which the data was collected 1960/61, reported on a continuing dilemma of validity in selecting criteria of representativeness, "The selection of numbers of offices of different kinds to be visited was based originally on a statistical analysis of the numbers of architectural staff employed in the different types and sizes of office in each region. Offices were thus examined in proportion to their contribution to the overall amount of work done by the architects working in them. To have based the sample on an analysis of the numbers of offices of different kinds, ignoring their total staff or work contribution would have given undue weight to the large number of very small practices (nearly 70% of the total number of private architectural practices have 5 or fewer architectural staff but are responsible for less than a quarter of the total building work certified by private architects.) In the event the statistical basis for selection became slightly blurred through practical considerations of time and distance in arranging visits." para. 1.15 p 21. (cf para. 1.24 for discussion of why the proportions of Scottish practices were too small to make any interviews worthwhile.) R.I.B.A. statistics available immediately prior to my investigations illustrated a similar pattern. From the 1966 Private Practice Census figures it appeared that there were 62% of practices employing 5 or less architectural staff, a slight decline, that they employed 24% of all architectural staff and that they accounted for a mere 18% of the volume of work certified by the profession. An intermediate group, based on the employment of 6-10 architectural staff represented 23% of all practices, employing 25% of the total architectural staff and accounting for 17% of all work certified. The dominance of the practices with 11 architectural staff and more is quite unquestionable from these figures; while accounting for only 15% of the total number of practices, they employ 51% of all architectural staff and undertake 65% of all work certified by architects.

stage in its history that, although there ~~are~~ is a larger number of smaller practices, they ~~only~~ account for a smaller fraction of the work undertaken and the architects employed than the handful of larger practices. (1) Happily, the need to give extra weight to the larger practices corresponded with an acknowledged principle of determining sampling fractions, namely to plan for a wider coverage of categories with few representatives in the local universe with correspondingly less coverage of those categories with more representatives, Hence the attempt to get a 100% coverage of size categories 4 and 5, with a much lower goal of 40-50% coverage of categories 0-3 inclusive. However, as can be seen from Table 1a, I was somewhat more successful in the former than the latter attempt. The unexpectedly high drift of small practices (categories 0 and 1) into a situation of part time work together with a high evasion, or non-response, rate left me with a higher proportion of medium size practices (categories 2 and 3, with architectural staffs 6-30) than I originally intended. (2)

Table 1a

	R.I.B.A. Size Category	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1.	Total Population	9	10	13	14	2	2	50
2.	Total number approached	7	10	10	11	2	2	42
3.	Total accepted partner level	4	3	7	8	2	1	25
4.	Total accepted random staff	2	2	4	5	2	1	16
	Proportion % 3:2	57.4	30.0	70.0	72.7	100.0	50.0	
	Proportion 4:2	27.6	20.0	40.0	45.5	100.0	50.0	

1. For further details see footnote 1 p. xi.
2. cf Appendix IV.

Some comments on the role of the researcher

While further details of the first and subsequent stages of drawing the sample are dealt with in Appendix IV, it is appropriate, I feel, to close this section with a comment on my definition of my role as a researcher, which had a direct bearing on the level of response that I felt obliged to accept.

In the textbooks of research method it is indicated that the researcher should attempt to minimise bias and that one of the chief sources of bias in sampling is non-response. (1) If one wants a high response rate one is to press and press until the unwilling subjects give in and grant an interview. Such a strategy would seem to fall into the situation outlined by Cicourel:

> "Canons of research demand that the interviewer operate somewhat like a computer with all the appearances of a fellow human being, but, so far as we know, persons in everyday life find it impossible either to present themselves as both or to receive presentations of others (regardless of what form it takes) which conform to the strict canons of scientific enquiry." (2)

The gravity of the economic situation facing private architectural practices has been outlined earlier in this section and I am aware that this constituted a pressure which compelled me to define the research situation in such a way as to accept a high rate of refusals. Such a reaction to "situational pressures" is examined by Hyman et. al. where they talk about, "certain types of behaviour" "operating as a means of coping with a problem". (3) They continue a little later, "While we have no evidence as to such direct social influences on the definition of the role (of interviewer - or researcher) we do have considerable evidence that the definition may often proceed from certain beliefs

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(1) C.A. Moser, Survey Methods in Social Investigation, Heinemann, 1958.

(2) A.V. Cicourel. Method and Measurement in Sociology. The Free Press, New York, 1964.

(3) Hyman et. al. quoted Cicourel op. cit. pp 89-90.

the interviewer has as to the nature of the attitudes, the nature of respondent behaviour, ... although there is the possibility that they may also provide gratification for the various needs." (1) However, in examining such sources of bias they hope to achieve a basis for eliminating it, while Cicourel accepts it as inherent in the essentially "everyday" nature of the interaction of interviewer/interviewee.

II The partner interviews

Questions of reliability and validity.

The interviews with partners, in most cases with one partner of varying seniority, were tape recorded in the partner's own office. (2)

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(1) ibid p. 89. The bracket is inserted by me. The underlinings represent the emphasis placed in the original text.

(2) cf Appendix VI for a detailed discussion of the variety of interview situations, the interactional problems arising and the issue of validity.
Having asked initially for "about an hour's interview", it is interesting to observe how discussion with an informed, attentive - female! - interviewer in 8 cases extend over the hour and a half. There is no doubt in my mind that as interviewer of one sex with respondents of the other sex, my definition of the interview interaction, and I felt the definitions of my respondents, was a complex of "everyday" "commonsense" male/female expectations alongside the more unfamiliar researcher/respondent definitions. With regard to interview length, however flattering it is at the time not to have an interview wound up summarily on the hour, it is very clear that additional interview time is very costly in transcribing time. (This is especially true when one is working without secretarial aid). I agree with Cicourel that electronic recording of an interview can be made the most of when it leaves the interviewer free to record "the extraneous features of the exchange" (op. cit. p. 102). However, as he suggests, a much clearer theoretical formulation of the interview interaction needs to be developed before such material can be assessed. Six interviews were between 40 minutes and one hour; 11 between one hour 5 minutes and one hour 30 minutes.

Having asked in my opening letter to talk to a partner most concerned with the impact that the new R.I.B.A. policies were making, which seemed the most reasonable request, questions of reliability and validity immediately arise. In 18 offices (including two where all the partners were present) I interviewed a senior partner, in 6 offices the partner was more junior and in one case I interviewed a long established Associate Partner and the Office Manager (the only Office Manager I came across in the sample). In other words in just under three quarters of the offices (72%) I talked to a partner whose official position gave him extensive authority, although I was not in a position to understand his particular influence in the practice. In 10 offices I was interviewing a founder partner. In order to acquire some idea of the likely bias it would have been advisable to obtain information on key characteristics of the other partners. However, this was too long and complex a procedure to fit into the short interview with one partner. But, it was hoped that this problem would be modified by the overall scheme of two sets of interviews, the interviews with staff forming a body of information that could be compared with the partner responses. (1)

The interview was based on a semi-structured questionnaire which had been developed during pilot interviews. (2) Fortunately, I did not have quite the problems that Smigel seems to have had in interviewing the partners of large legal practices in New York. (3) Although there was a certain

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(1) See below p. xvii.

(2) At this stage interviews were conducted in four private practices, at partner level and with a range of staff. cf. Appendix IX for an account of further attempts to familiarise myself with the occupational world of architects.

(3) cf. E.O. Smigel, op. cit. 1964. In order to breech the almost complete wall of silence which greeted him on his first advances to the practices, Smigel found he had to have very non-directive general discussions rather than attempt to conduct a formal interview.

amount of digression from the schedule, and in order to get the questions answered in the time available some had to be asked out of sequence (when the sequence did not seem vital), the partners in my sample were prepared to "talk to" the schedule. There were no occasions on which I was not allowed to use a tape recorder, only one or two partners being the slightest bit anxious. (1) Judging by the confidential nature of many of the communications, it was evident that the recorder did not inhibit some partners, although I am aware that it may have inhibited some others. However, I felt at the start of the interviewing that there were likely to be sufficient interesting digressions and side comments which I would find it difficult to record by hand, to justify the inevitable disadvantages.

Statistical treatment.

Transcription of the partner interviews was followed by coding and a manual sort as it was not felt worth while punching and machine sorting for a sample as small as 25. (2) The size of the sample and the problems attached to its

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(1) On one unfortunate occasion the tape recorder was rendered useless by the activities of workmen in the partner's own room, which we had already vacated in favour of the neighbouring secretary's room. One other interview was held in a Club that the partner belonged to and the inappropriateness of using the recorder was, it was hoped, remedied by the length of the interview, 2 hours 20 minutes. (It was never clear why this partner firmly rejected my suggestion of an interview in his office. This was a practice I never actually visited, as I did not interview the staff who were all reported to be students on their year of practical training.)

(2) In retrospect, having experienced the drudgery of the hours of counting frequencies and cross tabulating, I am not sure that the decision was the right one, especially as the coding was almost rigorous enough to have been used as a basis for punching.

composition, together with the highly qualitative nature of the data, required the simplest statistical treatment. For the most part frequency counts were followed by cross tabulations. Initially the data was recorded in the full number of categories that had been established in the interviews, in order to demonstrate any trends that were emerging. Subsequently it was collapsed into 2 x 2 tables.

III The Staff Sample

Problems of access and representativeness.

A random sample of both qualified and unqualified staff was achieved in 16 of the 25 practices where partner interviews were granted (i.e. 64%) Some of the bodies of staff could have been said to fall outside the universe in which I was interested, namely qualified and unqualified architects,

working in the same practice. (1) However, there were other practices in which I had to make a very speedy definition of the situation on which to base a strategy of more or less pressure to gain access to the staff. The direct refusals were usually accompanied by similar legitimating explanations as the letters, based on economic criteria. On the occasion of my first refusal, I followed what I took to be the strategy of the model researcher, and recontacted the partner. By dint of several telephone calls I managed to get a complete refusal mitigated to a sample of one selected member of staff! It is not quite clear from the methodology text books what our model researcher does in this situation. In the early stages of interviewing it seems worthwhile to accept such a magnanimous gesture, although the interview cannot contribute in the final sample, for the added insight it might produce; at a later stage there is a fall in marginal value of such an

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(1) Of the 9 practices refusing, one practice consisted of one partner alone; two practices employed unqualified staff only - one with student technicians, one with student architects respectively. (These were rejected as I was specifically interested in comparing the work situations, career chances and perceptions of the qualified and unqualified, as this distinction had played such a key part in R.I.B.A. policies ever since the Oxford Conference 1958). In one practice I interviewed the youngest and most junior of 3 partners who allowed me completely free access to staff working for him but could not extend it to staff working for the other partners. Four of the remaining cases were straightforward refusals. The final case of failure to achieve a random selection of staff arose from my failure to control the interaction in a partner interview with all three partners. Towards the end of the interview I failed to get across my definition of the requirements for the sample, largely because I could not contain the activities of all 3 partners at once. Appropriate staff had been assigned by one partner (not, I am sure, even intending to be less than entirely helpful) while I was caught up in discussion with the other two partners. Such interactional problems arising in the interview situation will be raised in a wider context in Appendix VI p xxxii.

interview. However, this situation did lead me to evolve a strategy to avoid many such dilemmas in the future. Where complete refusal could only be mitigated to selected staff, I withheld pressure, saving it for occasions where the offer was of selected staff and tactful persuasion might bring access to a randomly selected sample of staff.

Drawing the staff sample - problems of the sampling frame.

Having been given access to the staff and been given permission to draw a random sample, my problems had only just begun. Most practices had no readily available current staff list - so much for that aspect of the formalisation of practice administration! In one large practice I was given a xeroxed list, dated within the previous month, and in two or three other practices the partner actually referred to a list, presumably reasonably up to date; but, in over three quarters of the practices I had to compile the list myself. (1) I had been made aware in my preliminary investigations of the disruptively high level of inter-office mobility, particularly amongst junior staff, and had hoped to gather some data on it. But I had not anticipated that current records let alone past ones would be so sketchy. Thus my attempts to acquire data on turnover were restricted to individual's' perceptions and what I suspected might be a significant variable in explaining the adoption of certain R.I.B.A. policies could not be examined. The high turnover rate and the poverty of the records raises crucial questions as to the reliability of

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(1) This procedure was accompanied by much prompting from me and frequent comments from the respondents, such as, "Well, I think x and y are arriving/leaving next week", "People are always coming and going. I have just given you an average."

size categories as a sampling frame for both samples. There did not seem to be any simple solution to this problem. (1)

Within each practice I aimed to stratify in terms of qualification, taking the R.I.B.A.'s basic categories to create two broad strata of qualified and unqualified. (2) However, having taken these categories as given, it was more difficult to stratify within these categories, as I felt I must. For the "qualified architect" might have full architectural qualifications alone, or combined with a planning qualification, and within the practice he might be of the status of an Associate partner, a senior or job architect, an architect or an assistant architect. Similarly the "unqualified architect" was a very varied category; the person might have started out on the qualification path to become an architect (or still be following it part time) or he might have started on the different course of HNC qualifications related to the building industry, and more recently HNC qualifications required for the membership of the Society of Architectural and Allied Technicians (M.S.A.A.T.). Equally, amongst this group difference of status occurs, a very interesting minority reaching the status of Associate partner and others holding different degrees of seniority.

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(1) In the event I discovered that two thirds of the practices I interviewed (17) were still in the same Size Category as they had fallen into in the R.I.B.A.'s Census of the previous year. However, 8 had changed category, 5 moving up to a larger category and 3 moving down to a smaller size category.

(2) For their purposes the R.I.B.A. Research Department define and limit "Qualified architect" to those who have Registered as architects, a year after finishing at architecture school with the Part III Professional Practice examination passed. All others are "unqualified". As I have intimated elsewhere the R.I.B.A. were strongly encouraging the polarisation of qualifications, either architect's or technicians; so I wanted to findout what range of qualifications was to be found in different types of practice together with the work undertaken and the statuses achieved by persons in these different, and as yet by no means clear cut, categories.

The same principle was used in selecting staff within the practice as had been used in the selection of different practices, namely, the larger the number in the category the smaller the sampling fraction. As numbers varied so much between practices it is impossible to generalise any further about the selection process. In order to minimise differentiating criteria I arbitrarily decided to leave foreign born and trained architects out of the universe together with women. (1) The total achieved can been seen in Table 2a.

Table 2a

R.I.B.A. size category	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Total Practices Partner level	4	3	7	8	2	1	25
Total Practices Unselected staff interviews	2	2	4	5	2	1	16
Total Staff ALL	2	2	13	14	15	14	60
Total Qualified Staff	2	1	3	6	11	10	33
Total Unqualified Staff	0	1	10	8	4	4	27

Statistical treatment.

The computer programme, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used to analyse this date, the number of questions (over 100) rather than the sample size (60) determining the decision. In the event tests of statistical significance did not seem appropriate as the data could not be collapsed into few enough categories as to be both meaningful and amenable to such treatment.

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(1) The numbers of these two categories in the sample of practices were small.

Appendix IV

Further details concerning the practice sample

The sampling of practices.

Of the 21 offices drawn in June 1969, from a total universe of 50, 16 accepted to be interviewed at partner level, of which 14 subsequently allowed me to draw a random sample of staff. (1) It may be worth mentioning that I might have achieved a higher partner acceptance if I had not asked for interviews with the staff in the introductory letter. (2) At the time I felt it was the responsibility of the researcher to indicate the extent of the research in the initial communications. In retrospect it might have been quite acceptable to wait until a degree of trust had been developed in the opening interview interaction.

From Table 1c, it can be seen that the second stage of the sampling in September 1969, yielded a very disappointing response - of the 11 practices approached only 6 accepted at the partner level and of these only 3 for a random selection of staff. Hence the need for a third stage in October 1969 when 9 more practices were approached, three accepted at partner level and only one for a randomly selected set of staff interviews. It was felt that a final sample of around

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(1) The total of 50 was arrived at after checking through the 1968 Census results and leaving aside those practices which reported themselves as part time in 1968. For further discussion of the part time practice problem supra p. vii.

(2) A copy of the letter addressed to all the partners in a particular practice is included at the end of this section. A fresh top copy was sent to each practice (41 in all were approached), in the hope that the more individual approach would create a more favourable impression than, "just one more xeroxed bit of bumf". Remembering the extra time involved it might have been sensible to check for validity of this impression.

25 should be aimed at to allow limited statistical analysis; in the event 25 practices offered interviews at partner level. The sampling was without replacement.

By using the 1968 Private Practice Census data I had hoped to cut out all part-time practices automatically. However, I had not bargained for the deepening depression in the building industry.

Phase I June 1969 Table 1b

R.I.B.A. category	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Total population	9	10	13	14	2	2	50
Total approached	4	2	5	6	2	2	21
Total accepted partner level	3	1	4	5	2	1	16
Total accepted random staff	3	1	4	3	2	1	14

Legitimising Explanations accompanying refusals

June 1969 Size category 0: (i) retired

" " 1: (i) uneconomic to have researcher talk to staff

(ii) straight refusal

" " 2: (i) pressure of work

" " 3: (i) large commitment to uneconomic students and very pressed with work

(ii) direct refusal

(iii) situational problems (cf p.xviii) in partner interview

" " 5: (i) many similar requests received takes up too much valuable time.

Phase II September 1969 Table 1c

Total approached	2	3	2	4	-	-	11
Total accepted partner level	1	1	2	2	-	-	6
Total accepted random staff	1	1	1	1	-	-	3 (4)

September 1969

Size category 0: (i) letter - practice not organised sufficiently phone - too expensive in staff time

" " 1: (i) phone - too depressed at decline in practice to discuss it

" " 2: (i) internal office differences between partners

" " 3: (i) very few staff still employed, those kept on very busy

(ii) uneconomic for staff to spend time talking to researcher

Phase III October 1969 Table 1d

Total approached	1	4	3	1	-	-	9
Total accepted partner level	0	1	1	1	-	-	3
Total accepted random staff	0	0	0	1	-	-	1

October 1969

Size category 0: (i) part time

" " 1: (i) amalgamated

(ii) part time - lecturer

(iii) all staff students

(iv) part time

2: (i) helped researcher last week

(ii) low current level of staff - pressure of work

In the intervening year 6 practices (i.e. 12.0% of the original sample of 50) had so altered that 4 reported to me that they regarded themselves as part time, one had amalgamated with another practice and one practice no longer existed as the partner had retired. (1) As all these, except the retiral, emerged from the second and third stages of the sampling, i.e. 3 and 4 months later than the first stage, there may be some justification for pointing to the deepening economic problems altering the nature of the universe. In parenthesis, such a rate of change immediately raises the question in relation to the remaining full time practices as to the extent to which they might have changed size categories in the intervening year and whether they are to be categorised according to the R.I.B.A.'s 1968 findings or to their staff complement in the summer and autumn of 1969. A further discussion of staff fluctuations has been presented in discussing the drawing of the staff sample. (2)

Having accounted for 6 of the refusals, which were no longer in the universe that I wished to sample, there remain 10 practices which refused partner interviews. Referring to

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(1) In view of the R.I.B.A. encouragement of amalgamations or "group practices" (cf J. McKay-Lewis, Group practice and Consortia. R.I.B.A. 1964) and the economic advantages of increase in the scale of operations, it seemed highly significant to me that I came across only one example of amalgamations in my sampling (only one practice in the sample of 25 which was a part of a group of architectural practices or a consortium of inter-professional practices) and found next to no references to it in the professional literature. In the face of dire economic circumstances, the individualistic approach in the practice of architecture was dying a slow death. The R.I.B.A. Research Department comparing the results of the 1964 and 1966 and 1968 Census returns have made some comments on the rate of practice formation and extinction. Commenting on a Table they produced they write, "An interesting feature of this table is that the percentage of firms not in existence in 1964 is precisely double the percentage that were not in existence in 1966. This implies a constant rate of practice formation. However, in view of the trend in the net increase in the number of practices noted under Table II, it must follow that there has been a considerable acceleration in the rate at which practices have gone out of existence." R.I.B.A. Census of Private Practice. PDS/M286/69 pp 2-3 notes re. Table IIIB. Unfortunately it is impossible from these figures to differentiate between the smallest size categories.

(2) See above p viii.

Table 1a it can be seen that the refusal of one practice in size category 5 constituted the highest percentage refusal, at 50%; on the other hand the acceptance by both practices in the second largest size category constituted 100% response. (1) If one discounts the 6 practices which were no longer in the universe (2 from the smallest category 0 and 4 from category 1) size category 0 has the next lowest refusal rate at 20%, with category 3 following at 27.3% while categories 2 and 1 have 30% and 37.5% respectively. It is difficult to understand why the two smallest categories should have had such a marked difference in response rate, although it is marked that it follows the same pattern as the rate of practice demise, i.e. size category 1, with architectural staff of between 3-5, was characterised by the higher rate of practice decline as well as the second highest rate of actual refusal of interviews. It seems as if objectively speaking this group may have been in the most vulnerable position with a small group of staff to organise rather than the one or two man partnership, or at least may have perceived themselves as very vulnerable. (2)

Judging by the letters of refusal, the partners writing on behalf of most of the practices perceived the economic situation to be critical, while all of them refused giving some combination of economic and other factors as justification. Now, I am well aware that such a defence is about the most acceptable or legitimate strategy for parrying the advances of unwelcome researchers and I admit that I had no means of ascertaining the likelihood or otherwise of such statements.

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(1) supra p xi.

(2) In order to detect further sources of bias the practices refusing could have been examined in terms of information available from the Census 1968 data. (cf Tables 1b, 1c, 1d, pp. xxii - xxiii for the size bias.) Unfortunately, time limitations did not permit this.

However, I hope that the earlier discussion of the way I came to define the economic situation of the occupation (arising from objective statistics and impressionistic material from a variety of sources) goes most of the way in explaining and justifying my decision to define my researcher role in this particular investigation as less thrusting than is often considered ideal. In other words, I accepted most of the refusals in the terms in which the practices presented their explanations, and turned to examining the range of situations which the practices felt were adequate legitimation of their refusals. Several practices pointed out that they had laid off a number of staff because of the slow flow of new work into the office and that those staff that remained were tremendously busy. (1) However, one practice at least only gave this answer when followed up by telephone. In the letter of refusal the partner had explained that he felt the practice was "too unsophisticated" organisationally to be of interest to my research. When I emphasised the fact that it was the variety of types of organisation that I was interested in, he confessed that he felt it was just too costly in the time of his depleted staff. Another practice indicated that the partners were very favourable to my kind of investigation, but that they felt their resources were fully stretched in providing practical experience for architectural students. (2)

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(1) Happily the problem of work flow also affected me advantageously; in other practices which were hanging on to carefully assembled design teams, in the hope that new work might come in any week, the staff had more time on their hands than usual.

(2) Part of the new educational strategy involved the R.I.B.A.'s introduction of a rigorously organised year of practical experience in the fourth year of the five year training period for students. In the partner interviews the reaction of practices in the sample to this particular R.I.B.A. policy, was rather ambivalent. A number of partners otherwise following R.I.B.A. policies pointed out how uneconomic it was for them to carry many inexperienced students in training on the staff, even for a year.

As I had already defined this as a potential problem for practices as a result of new R.I.B.A. policies, I could hardly fail to be sympathetic to such a plea. This area of pleading brings me to the legitimation of a refusal by the citing of previous research work conducted in the practice. Although I felt sceptical about the very general reference to, "we are always getting requests for help in researches and feel it uneconomic to offer such facilities from one practice" (especially as it had been suggested by several architects that this well known firm never co-operated - they had no idea that I too was to try, and fail) the claim from another practice that they had helped a particular researcher last week and felt that this exhausted their goodwill for some time left little room for questioning. (1) As Hyman et al. have suggested in the quotation referred to earlier, the interviewer, andparticularly the lone researcher, has considerable leeway to define particular aspects of his role. (2) In accepting a high rate of refusal in the context of my perceptions of the whole occupation's grave economic situation, I was particularly conscious of the present and future attitudes of these potential respondents. My idiosyncratic definition of the situation suggested to me that more forceful attempts to gain entry to these practices would raise questions as to the type of relationship I might hope to establish with an unwilling interviewee and hence the questionable validity ofthe data collected. And looking in more general terms, I believed there were very real problems of jeopardising latent goodwill towards future researchers.

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(1) There were numerous points at which I felt glad not to be sponsored by the R.I.B.A.; as one can imagine, many practices felt that their goodwill towards the R.I.B.A. was stretched to the limit as a result of a constant flow of documents explaining their policy changes and a series of forms and questionnaires to collect new and update old statistics and compile a new Register of Private Practices.

(2) supra p xiii.

September 23rd, 1969.

Dear Sirs,

May I ask for your help in connection with a research project which I am carrying out from this department as a PhD candidate. The focus of the project is on the recent changes in the kind of demands placed on architects and theways in which the profession has responded to these changes, either in terms of organisation, division of labour or training.

As you doubtless know, the R.I.B.A. has been promoting a policy of "diversification" for some time now. Some schools of architecture have begun to implement this policy by introducing students to particular skills; but my main interest is in finding out how situations have developed in architects' offices. In a sense, I am looking at the problems that offices face in fulfilling the demands made upon them within the limits of the skills and expectations of the personnel available to them.

My study is based on a sample of Scottish practices and yours has emerged after extensive attempts to get as wide a range of different types of practice as possible. The help that I am asking for is a discussion with one of you at partner level concerning the practice as a whole and your permission to interview a number of architectural staff. Neither the name of the practice nor individuals is ever divulged in this type of research and all the discussions are treated as very strictly confidential. Each interview should last about an hour.

If you feel able to offer any assistance in this research, perhaps the best plan would be to arrange to telephone you or come and call on you to give you rather more details of what I am attempting to do.

Yours faithfully,

Penelope A.D. Holland, M.A. (Mrs.)

Appendix V

Some further comments on aspects of the research process

Relationship to a sponsoring organisation.

My relationship to the R.I.B.A. remained conveniently ambiguous. While not by any means sponsored by them I was able in certain circumstances to "drop" the fact that I was obtaining help from well known members of staff or the Research Department. Indeed its chief role was as a source of information through interviews with staff who had played key parts in the formation of policies, through access to statistics and through use of their extensive library. None of my requests for information were such as to require more than the discretion of the staff concerned, i.e. they never had to go before the Council or any of its Committees. [redacted]

Thus, although I have no direct obligations to the R.I.B.A. I feel very strong individual debts of gratitude, or "reciprocal responsibility", as Olesen and Whittaker put it. (1) An invitation to contribute to the forthcoming R.I.B.A. Research Journal was defined by me as an obligation.

Problems of confidentiality.

As a result of such a loosely structured relationship with individual members of staff of the R.I.B.A., most of whom were at present or had in the past undertaken research, the problem of confidentiality was understood and respected. However, this did not apply quite so clearly at the level of the respondent in the individual practice and particularly to the partners. Their eagerness to learn about other practices has been commented on

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(1) V. Olesen & E.W. Whittaker, The Silent Dialogue: a study in the Social Psychology of Professional Education. San Francisco, 1968, p. 26.

at an earlier stage. I must confess that on occasion I found it very difficult to fulfil both the norm of responsibility bounden on the researcher and the more "commonsense" norm of "reciprocal responsibility". Unless I was able to offer some feedback I could see very little reason for being tolerated at all. In the event I offered all practices a synopsis of my results.

Research perspective.

In the course of an investigation numerous odd behaviours, comments and situations arise which are undoubtedly meaningful in the whole context; in my case, of the processes occurring within "the architectural profession." However, as Olesen and Whittaker have pointed out in their discussion of their period of participant observation, there are dangers of not understanding the full context, "While always aware of the questions of meaning, we became ever more sensitised to the dangers in noting statements and behaviour without a full comprehension of the meaning and the contextual framework which underlay them. Some things made sense only when seen in the light of the world as the students saw it, in the light of their reality." (1)

It was extremely tempting to speculate on the meaning of office decor, for example, and attempt to identify an image which the practice (or certain partners) was trying to put across to its clients and colleagues. Similarly, it was difficult to believe that visual aspects of appearance, dress, hair style, the wearing of a beard, did not have heightened meaning in an occupational world dominated by images and ideologies of visual effects. Thinking of another aspect, I began to ask questions by the time that I was half way through my interviewing as to the meaning of the appearance of lack of

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(1) Olesen and Whittaker op. cit. p. 48.

appearance of a drawing board in a partner's office. However, without much wider probing it seemed foolish to make such simplistic assumptions as that the partners with drawing boards were more involved in the design process and vice versa - some partners involved themselves in the process in the larger drawing office.

Definition of the researcher's role.

Something has been said earlier about the idiosyncratic nature of the definition of the researcher's role. The discussion centred around my definition of the total situation of the occupation under study and the effect this had on my unwillingness to compel and control the interaction with partners in practices. (1) Here I should like to raise one or two more points about possible variants of the researcher role in the interview situation. Moving from practice to practice and one member of staff to another, it was perhaps easier to play the ignoramus for longer than Olesen and Whittaker felt able to. (2) However, the time also came for me when I had to admit to respondents that I had been in the field for a year or more and it was no longer credible to claim ignorance. However, the role of the sympathetic stranger (rather like the unknown and never more to be seen travelling companion) was particularly compelling in interviews with staff. As I have outlined earlier, it was almost impossible to disentangle the web of male/female expectations, but there was one area in which I consciously presented myself as the wife of a young professional who had similar career problems. Towards the end of the staff interviews, where such questions occurred, it seemed appropriate on a good number of occasions to allay a certain degree of anxiety aroused by questions of future prospects, by referring to understandings drawn from outside the model researcher/interviewee relationship.

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(1) supra p. xiii.

(2) op. cit. p. 31.

Appendix VI

1. The partner interview schedule xxxii - xlvi

2. The staff interview schedule xlvii - lxii

THE ORGANISATION OF ARCHITECTS OFFICES

AND

THE ARCHITECTS ROLE AND CAREER

interview schedule for: PARTNERS

name :

office:

date:

time:

I CURRENT RANGE OF STAFF

1) Could I start by asking you about the current range of staff you have in the office and whether there have been any changes recently?

	JULY '69	within last 3 years	possible future no.
(a) architectural staff			
(i) qualified architects			
a/planners			
a/landscape			
a/other			
(ii) architects partI/II			
(iii) 4th yr students			
(iv) unqualified arch't			
(v) arch'l technician(RSAAT)			
(vi) trainee technician			
(vii) other			
TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL STAFF			
proportion: qualified/unqualified			
(b) Technical staff			
(i) Q. S.			
(ii) engineers			
c.e.			
structural			
H&V			
(iii) clerk of works			
(iv) librarian			
(v) other			
TOTAL TECHNICAL			
(c) Administrative			
(i) office manager			
(ii) project clerks			
(iii) secretarial			
(iv) other			
TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE			
TOTAL OFFICE			

2) So in the last 5 years: (since 1964)

(a) the number of architectural staff h as : increased
decreased
stayed the same

was there any particular reason for this?

(b) the proportion of qualified/unqualified architects has: increased
decreased
stayed the same

was there any particular reason for this?

(c) the number of technical staff has: increased
decreased
stayed the same

was there any particular reason for this?

(d) the number of administrative staff has: increased
decreased
stayed the same

was there any particular reason for this?

3) And the possible future changes - what would be behind these?

(a) total qualified

(b) proportion qualified/unqualified

(d) total technical

(d) total administrative

II STRUCTURE OF THE OFFICE

4) Could I next ask you what sort of positions these people hold?

(a) do you have a range of grades through from full partner to assista

grades	current number	RIBA GRADE	qualified architect	technical qualificants	unqual techni
full partner					
associate ptner					
group arch't					
principal arch't					
senior arch't					
job arch't					
architect					
assistant arch't					
arch'l assistant					
technician					
other					

(b) Do you reckon that your range of positions fit into the RIBA gradin

(c) And so do you use this grading to distinguish levels of responsibil

(d) And do you use it as a basis for salaries?

(e) Does this mean that you have different scales for qualified/unquali

(f) And at the different levels there are qualified architects, how about people with other qualifications, or no qualifications?

(g) Is it possible to become a partner if you are not qualified?

Has this always been so? Some people say that the opportunites for qualified and unqualified architects/technicians differ more now than they used to. Do you see it this way; why should it be so?

generally in this office

(i) very different

(ii) somewhat different

(ii) dbut differ

(iv) other

5) Has your system of grading changed in any way recently? if so, how?

(i) yes

(ii) n o

(iii) other

was there any particular reason for this?

6) <u>if no</u> - has it changed at all since you joined the office? if so, how

(i) yes

(ii) no

(iii) other

was there any particular reason for this?

7) Are you divided up in to section s at all?

(i) re type of building - housing
educational
industrial
hospitals

(ii) re aspect of buildin g engineering - structures
lan dscapin g

8) <u>if yes</u> - once architects have joined a section, do they tend to stay i

(i) yes
(ii) no
(iii) other

9) <u>if no</u> - if architects have experience of one type or work do they tend to go in to the same type of project again?

(I) usually
(ii) sometimes
(iii) try to rotate them
(iv) no
(v) other

10) Do you encourage or discourage architects from developin g special areas of knowledge and skill?

III DIVISION OF WORK AND RESPONSIBILITY

11) Could I ask in a little more detail about different activities? I have tried to put together a range of activities that partners a staff are likely to be involved in: starting with (1) could you te me who is involved in: -

		Partners
(1)	Finding and maintaining work supply for the office	
(2)	Taking client's brief	
(3)	Liaison with client	
(4)	Design - inception	
(5)	Design - detailed development	
(6)	Design - critical analysis	
(7)	Working drawings	
(8)	Technical reference/research	
(9)	Liaison with consultants	
(10)	Liaison with builders	
(11)	Site supervision/contract administration	
(12)	Allocation of projects	
(13)	Allocation of staff in general	
(14)	Recruitment	
(15)	Office administration/staff supervision	
(16)	Office policy	
(17)	Other	

12) Thin king of technicians and the discussion surrounding the introduct of this grade - many architects pointed to the difficulty of separati out design work from drawing - how easy do you find it to make such a distinction?

(i) easy

(ii) not sure

(iii) difficult

13) Have you ever thought of the practice in terms that th e RIBA USE, for example,

(a) would you say it is centralised (decisions and iniative from top, personal service emphasis)
or dispersed (collective decision making, group service, full delegation)

(i) centralised

(ii) dispersed

(iii)dont know

(b) or would you say that work is distributed on a federal or a functional basis

(i) federal

(ii) functional

14) Have there been any changes recently:

(a) federal to functional or
functional to federal

(b) centralised to dispersed
dispersed to centralised

15) Were there any particular reasons behind these changes?

(a)

(b)

IV ORGANISATION OF WORK

16) Could we turn now to the organisation ow work itself:

(a) do you try to brack up work into stages on the lines of the RIBA Plan of Work, for example?

(i) RIBA Plan of Work

(ii) Own fairly systematic breakdown

(iii) nothing systematic

(b) and so do you try to put time and cost limits on each stage, (eg by use of network analysis, or bar charts)
I've been told of some practices, at one extreme probably, where the amount of work for the week is specified.

(i) very systematic costTime limits

(ii) fairly systematic limits

(iii) no very rigourous limits

(c) Do youn use the RIBA Scottish Conditions of Contract for most of your projects, or the 1964 Conditions

(i) mainly RIBA Scottish

(ii) half and half

(iii) 1964 mainly

(d) why do you use these in these proportions: how about the thorny problem of getting documents and drawings ready for the contract do you find this feasible?

(e) do you(the practice) use any of your own or other:

(i) standard plans

(ii) standard details

(f) have you worked with many systems?

(i) a good many

(ii) a few

(iii) not many

(g) do you have many standard office proceedures - (re. certificat filing, letters, decisions etc)
which are incorporated into an Office Manual?

(i) office manual

(ii) developing numbers of proceedures

(iii) v. few such proceedures

(h) Are any of your projects on Metric yet? y n

does this alter the way you work particularly, do you think it will when you start?
(i) yes
(ii) no
(iii) dont know

17) Some people say that these types of proceedure cut down the responsibility of the architect, others say they leave him freer to concentrate on his own vital concerns - how do you see this?

(i) cut down responsibility

(ii) free for other responsibilities

(iii) other

V MAIN WORK AND CLIENTS

18) What sort of work would you say you are most accustomed to doing as a practice?

(i) housing - local authority

(ii) housing - developers

(iii) housing - private

(iv) educational - primary schools

(v) educational- secondary schools

(vi) educational-higher education

(vii) educational- universities

(viii) industrial

(ix) commercial

(x) local authority

(xi) government sponsored - ministry

(xii) restoration of old buildings

(xiii) churches

(xiv) miscellaneous - independent

(xv) other -hospitals

(xvi) other

19) And so your main clients are:

(i) private individuals

(ii) private industry

(iii) commercial developers

(iv) local authority

(v) nationalised industries

(vi) other government bodies

(vii) U.G.C.

(viii) hospital boards

(ix) independent/semi-independent committees

(x) ther

20) Is your work mainly in Scotland, Britain or elsewhere?

(i) mainly Scotland

(ii) Scotland and England

21) Do you ever turn away work - because it is too small or too large or for any other sort of reason?

(i) small

(ii) large

(iii) other

22) Would you say you preferred to have fewer staff working on a project for a longer period if possible, or a larger number of staff on for a shorter period?

(i) few, on longer

(ii) lot, on shorter

(iii) other

23) Thinking of the work you are accostomed to:

(i) a large project would be about the value of £

(ii) a medium project " " " " £

(iii) a small project " " " " £

24) Clients must differ in the extent to which they try and are able to specify theri requirements and their limits - of cost and time Thinking of your main clients, how do they affect you in this connection?

VI OFFICE IN GENERAL

25) What would you say were the most important factors affecting the development of the profession and the way it works at this time?

PROFESSION PRACTICE

(i) technological change

(ii) building industry changes

(iii) intervention of central goverment

(iv) changes in allied professions

(v) RIBA induced changes

(vi) other

26) And how has this afiected this particular practice

27) And so how about:

(a) technological change

(i) materials

(b) developments in the building industry

(i) size of firms

(ii) systems of building

(iii) standardistion and manufacture of components

(c) intervention of central government

(i) emphasis on cost

(ii) building regulations

(iii) metrication

(f) general economic situation

(g) changes in allied professions

(i) Q.S. - emphsis on role in costing

(h) RIBA POLICY

(i) education

(ii) management

(iii) contracts

28) Would you say that the practice had particular aims or philosophy?

29) And would you say that the pracitce had a particular house/office sty

(i) yes

(ii) no

30) Could I ask one or two specific questions:

(i) do you have any branch offices	Y	N	0
(ii) are you part of a group (of architects' practices)	Y	N	0
(iii) are you part of a consortium (architects and non-architects)	Y	N	0

31) Do you tend to work with a limited number of professional consultants or do they vary widely?

(i) limited number

(ii) select where possible

(iii) great variety

32) And building contractors - do youm normally work with a few or many?

(i) limited number

(ii) select where possible

(iii) great variety

VII SELECTION AND RECRUITMENT

33) Would you say you looked for any particular skills/qualities in selec staff?

(i) good designers

(ii) co-ordinating/management skills

(iii) specialised experience

(iv) designers/co-ordinators

36) Would you say you were a ble to find what you want?

(i) usually

(ii) no

37) Do you have a s ystem of rotating more junior staff -to widen their experience?

(i) yes

(ii) no

38) Are you able to fill the practical training requirements of the RIBA?

(i) yes for large number of staff
(ii) yes for limited number
(iii) no

39) Thinking of training - do you send staff on further courses at all?

(i) yes - technical

(ii) yes - managment

(iii)no

40) Afurther question relating to training- some offices seem to be employing more qualified staff than previously, it seems likely to have some particular effect - do you see it as having any advantages/disadvantag

(i) general effects

(ii) advantages

VIII TURNOVER AND CAREERS

41) Looking at the RIBA office Survey, I was quite surprised to find what seemed a relatively high turnover for all offices - do you see this trend continuing?

(i) yes

(ii) no

42) Why should this be so?

43) What sort of rate do you tend to have in a practice like this?

44) Do they tend to go to other private practices?

(i) yes

(ii) no

45) Are there some who are more inclined to leave than others?

(i) young

(ii) old

(iii) qualified

(iv) unqualified

46) Why should this be so?

47) What sort of effect does this have on the office?

48) The traditional aim of the qualified architect seem to have been to set up in partnership, on his own or with some one else - does this still hold do you think?

(i) yes

(ii) no

49) If this aim(of partnership) still holds - what chance id there of fulfilling these aims

(i) good chance

(ii) some chance

(iii) no chance at all

50) If it does not hold - what do you think most architects are aiming for

(i) interesting work

(ii) secure job

51) What sor of abilities are needed as a partner now-a-days?

(i) design ability

(ii) managent skills

(iii) ability to bring in work

IX RIBA AND THE PROFESSION

Could we turn briefly to the role of the RIbA

52) Thinking of the last 5-10 years, what would you say have been th e most important policies and actions of the RIBA

(i) educational - qualifications

(ii) " management

(iii) office organisation - plan of work

(iv) contract changes

(v) publicity - public relations

53) And so far as this practice is concerned, what has been the ef fect?

54) Do you regard yourself as active in RIBA - committees
meetings

RIAS committees
meetings

55) Do you feel that the profession gets the respect from
professional colleages in building design profess Y N 0
building contractors Y N 0
general public that it is due Y N 0

56) Has it increased/decreased recently?
building colleages (i) increased public
(ii) decreased

X OWN CAREER

Could I just end by asking one or two quick questions about your own experience and career?

57) Do you regard yourself as primarily a designer, or primarily a co-ordinator or both?

(i) designer

(ii) co-ordinator

(iii) both

58) Have you always been in private practice?

(i) yes

(ii) no

59) if no - where else have you worked

60) And so you :

(i) you stared this practice in;

(ii) you started alone/with -

(iii) you joined this practice in:

(iv) you became a partner in:

61) What would you say have been the most significant changes in the practice since you started it/ joined it?

62) And the future of the practice?

THE ORGANISATION OF ARCHITECTS' OFFICES

AND

THE ROLE AND CAREER OF THE ARCHITECT

interview schedule for: ARCHITECTS

name:

office

date

time

I ENTRY INTO OFFICE

1) Could we begin by discussing what has happendd since you joined the o

(i) when did you join the office _____

(ii) what was your position/title when you joined? _____

(iii) and your position now is.... _____

(iv) does the office fit this into the RIBA grading Y N DK O

2) Could you give me a very brief outline of the work you have been invo in since you joined the office?

PROJECT NATURE OF WORK

II PRESENT WORK

3) And so at present your main work is .1...

PROJECT TYPE / VALUE / STAGE OF WORK / RESPONSIBLE TO / RESPONSIBLE FO

(1)

(2)

(3)

4) Do you prefer to be on a job through from the design, drawing and int the construction stage, or do you prefer to be on at particular stage

(i) all through

(ii) design only/sketch plans-scheme design

(iii) drawing/ working drawing - detail design

(iv) production inforation/going out to tender

(v) on site

5) Thinking of the work you said you have on hand at the moment - would you look at this list of activities that I have compiled:

(i) taking clients brief

(ii)liason with client

(iii)design- inception

(iv)design-development

(v)design- critical analysis

(vi)working drawings

(vii)liason with consultants

(viii)liason with builder

(ix)staff supervision/
team direction

(x)site supervision

(xi) contract administration

(xii)office organisation

(xiii)allocation of projects

(xiv)allocation of staff

(xv) recruitment

(xvi)office policy

(a) in the projects which you have on hand at present - which of these activities have you undertaken?

(b) If there was the opportunity, which of these activities would you like increased?

(c) and which decreased?

(d) would you say that any ~~xxx~~ of these activities are more significant o central than others as far as your role as an architect (technician) is concerned?

(e) are any of them more or less important as far as your future work and career opportunities are concerned?

(f) have you ever undertaken any of these types of activity that you do not do much of at present?

(g) and architects senior to you, does their work involve similar or different types of activity?

(i) partners

(ii) associates

(iii)

(iv)

6) So you are involved in this type of work -
You cannot be using the new RIBA Job Book, but does the practice organise work by its own job book or job check lists, or is the work programme rather less specifically laid down?

(i) practice job book

(ii)practice job check lists

(iii)RIBA stages as outline programme

(iv) very general stages set by practice

(v) other

7) And do you record your activities on job sheets, daily, weekly or w

(i) daily

(ii) weekly

(iii) no record

(iv) other

8) And so how carefully apportioned is your time for different piece work?

(i) very carefully

(ii) fairly carefully

(iii) not particularly

(iv) other

9) How much say do you have in apportioning your time

(i) a lot

(ii) quite a lot

(iii) not much

10) Taking a particular stage - production drawings

are you supposed to get them done before the contractor begins

(i) yes - all

(ii) yes - main ones

(iii) doesnt really matter

11) And in actual fact what happens?

(i) all get done

(ii) main drawings get done

(iii) other

12) Thinking og general office proceedures now, are you able to sign all your own letters?

(i) all

(ii) some

(iii) none

13) And how about variation orders? are you able to sign them?

(i) all

(ii) some

(iii) none

14) And is there an Office Manual, or memos or anything in which such proceedures are set out - and ones such as,filing, getting out certificates etc)

(i) office manual

(ii) memos

(iii) custom/workd of mouth

(iv) other

15) Some people say that these sort of practices cut down the architects freedom, others say they are a useful and necessary discipline - how do you see them?

(i) cut down architect's freedom - definitely

(ii) " " " " - tend to

(iii) dont really know

(iv) useful and necessary discipline - tend to be

(v) useful and necessary discipline - definately

16) Thinking more specifically of designing/drawing:
when you are confronted with a problem do you tend to prefer to:-

(i) think it through yourself entirely

(ii) think it through yourself first, then discuss it with others and look through the literature

(iii) ask others first, look through the literature and then try and work something out

17) What sort of problems do you in fact get involved with: what sort things have you got on hand to decide at the moment?

18) Do you feel that you are given sufficient opportunity to work out your own solution to problems and discuss and argue its merits?

(i) yes always

(ii) yes sometimes

(iii) not very often

(iv) not at all

19) In your current work are you using any systems?

(i) yes- large part of work

(ii) yes- small part "

(iii) no

20) And so are you using any standard plans or details (re System/practice NBA)

(i) standard plans Y N practice NBA system other

(ii) standard details

source Y N practice NBA system other

Y N practice NBA System other

21) Some architects say that these kinds of things leave the architec freer to concentrate on more crucial aspects of his work, others say that they cut down the responsibility of the architect- what do you feel about this?

(i) cut down responsibility - definitely

(ii) " " " - tend to

(iii) dont really know

(iv) leave him freer to concentrate on more crucial aspects - defi

(v) " " " " " " " tend

22) In the work that you are involved in at present - did you have any choice in it?

(i) yes

(ii) no

(iii) other

23) Is this usual in this office?

(i) yes

(ii) no

(iii) other

24) Were you ever chosen because you had experience which was particul relevent to the work/project?

(i) yes - often

(ii) yes - on occasion

(iii) no

(iv) other

25) In general do you feel thatx you have any skills/abilities that are not being used at present?

UNUSED 1 NEEDED 8

(i) re type of building

(ii) re aspect of building

(iii) general design

(iv) general draughtsmanship

(v) management/admin

(vi) planning

(vii) other

26) On the other hand do you feel that you need any skills and abiliti for this work that you dont think you have?

27) Do you feel you know enough about for example structures, services the building process to carry out the job as you feel it should be

(i) structures

(ii) services

(iii) building process

28) And as far as your present work is concerned do you see yourself working as parts of a design team alongside engineers, QS etc or does it work out rather differently?

(i) part of team - definitely

(ii) part of team- occasionally

(iii) not really part of team

29) Would you say that you had developed any particular competence/s while in this office

(i) yes

(ii) no

(iii) other

30) Thinking of your work in general, do you feel that any of it is not architects work, that it could be done by other types of personnel?

(i) yes - drawing technicians

(ii) yes administration- project clerks

(iii) yes administration - office manager

(iv) other

(v) no

31) Would this raise any particular problems?

32) Some people point to ~~xkx~~ a difficulty of distinguidhing design from drawing - how do you see this?

(i) cant distinguish the two

(ii) can be difficult to distinguish the two

(iii) can be separated out

33) So to sum up, do you feel that you are taking all the responsibil that you could take, that you have the experience and training f

(i) taking all responsibilty that could take

(ii) taking a certain amount - could take more

(iii) by no means taking the responsibility that could take

III OFFICE AND CHANGE

34) Turing briefly to the office as a whole, have there been any particular changes int the last few years?

(i) types of work done by office Y N 0

(ii) use of standard work proceedures Y N 0

(iii) use of standard details etc Y N 0

(iv) changes in the amount of work delegated Y N 0

(v) changes in postions/grading Y N 0

(vi) salary, bonus, pension shemes Y N 0

35) What do you think was behind the changes?

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

(vi)

Have they or will they make any difference to you personnally? how

(i) yes

(ii) no

(iii) other

IV CAREER AND WORK OPPORTUNITIES

37) The traditional aim of the architect seems to have been to become a partner - does it still hold do you think?

(i) yes

(ii) no

(iii) other

38) And what chance do you think most architects have of achieving it now-a-days?

(i) good chance

(ii) some chance

(iii) no chance at all

(iv) other

38) Some people say there is more chances of getting to senior positic at least, in private practice than other types of office & do you this?

(i) yes - development of more senior positions

(ii) yes - more individual units

(iii) not sure

(iv) no

39) How about positions like associate?

40) So how about yourself - has becoming a partner ever been more than a comforting day dream?

(i) yes - been a partner at one time

(ii) yes - making plans to set up

(iii) yes - general hopes

(iv) no

(v) other

41) a) Do you in fact do any private work now-a-days?

(i) yes fair amount

(ii) yes - occasionally

(iii) no - used to

(iv) no never have

b) How important would you say this work was to you :
(i) in fulfilling potential as an architect
(ii) gaining experience
(iii) financially
(iv) as a basis for starting practice

c) Is any of it competition work? Y N

42) What sorts of think

42) What do you think it takes to become a partner - what sort of abi

	GENERAL	HERE	LA CHIE
(a) (i) design ability-special			
(ii) management/admin			
(iii) interpersonal skills			
(iv) cleint getting ability			
(v) drive, ambition etc			
(vi) other			

(b) and in this practice?

(c) and how about Chief architect in local authority?

43) Are there ever any occasions when partners are chosen from outsid the practice?

(i) yes

(ii) no

(iii) dont know

(iv) other

44) Gene rally when selecting staff to work here do you think they lo for any particular skills/qualities?

(i) design

(ii) specialised experience

(iii) ability to fit in

(iv) other

45) Thinking of opportunities in general ;
how would you think the opportunities for qualified architects, unqualified architects and technicians compare?

(a) with regard to type of work

(i) same

(ii) different

(b) with regard to career opportunity

(i) same

(ii) different

(c) with regard to salary

(i) same

(ii) different

46) Is there much coming and going from this office compared with othe you know?

(i) a good deal
(ii) usual amount
(iii) less than usual
(iv) dont know
(v) other

47) Any particualar set of people who are more likely to leave than others?

(i) young
(ii) older
(iii) qualified
(iv) unqualified
(v) technicians
(vi) other

48) For someone at your stage, how long is it reasonable to stay ?

(i) seriously thinking of moving
(ii) would think of moving for more money
(iii) " " " " " more responsibility
(iv) planning to stay for ,..... years
(v) no plans to move
(vi) reason to hope for promotions
(vii) other

49) Thinking of your own particualar skills and of the sor tof owrk and responsibility that you would be looking for how easy would it be to find a job outside this office?

(i) very easy
(ii) fairly easy
(iii) quite difficualt
(iv) very difficult
(v) dont know
(vi) other

50) So do you have any ideas at all as to what you are <u>likely</u> to be doing in 5 years time say.

(a) do you think you will be in this office Y N 0

(b) what sort of office might you be in:

(c) and what sort of position (i) same level
(ii) higher
(iii) higher -partner

51) If at some stage you had to decide between taking on more project and office administration, and on the other hand direct responsibi for and involvement design work, which would you be inclined to choose?

(i) practice and office administration

(ii) design responsibilities

(iii) dont know

(iv)

52) Why would you choose this?

53) You may or may not have made this sort of decision already, would you say you had a preference for smaller or larger projects or some combination?

(i) large in general

(ii) small in general

(iii) combination

V RIBA

54) Could we turn to the RIBA briefly?

Do you feel particularly strongly about any of their recent polici if so which?

(i) strongly in favour of ....

(ii) strongly dislike .....

55) Which of their ~~xxxxxx~~ policies would you say, in recent years, has made the most significant influence on the profession?

VI INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

56) Could we end briefly with a few background questions?

Is or was your father an architect Y N

if yes - type of office
position
when you started training

if no - what was he doing when you started training?

57) How did you get your training?

(i) full time school of art
(ii) full time polytechnic
(iii) full time university
(iv) full time independent school
(v) entirely part time
(vi) some part some full time
(vii) other

58) So did you take the school's examinations Y N O

59) And which examinations did you take, have exemption from? and when ?

(i) RIBA intermediate
(ii) " Finals Part II
(iii) " " Part III
(iv) ISAAT
(v) other

60) Did you specialise in any types, aspects of building in your last years in school/training ?

(i) type of building
(ii) aspect of building
(iii) other

61) Have you done any courses since you did Part II/III or other exa

62) Where was your first job?

how long did you stay?

63) Roughly how many ~~jnk~~ offices have you worked in since then? ___

(inc. first/ current @ ___

64) Some people say architects only, or happily get salary rises every time they move - did you

(i) always

(ii) sometimes

(iii) other

65) How about in this office -

(i) do you get annual salary rises

(ii) are you involved in a bonus scheme Y N 0

(iii) are you involved in a pension scheme Y N 0

66) Have you always worked in private practice?

(i) yes

(ii) no

67) have you worked in (i) L.A.
(ii) central govt. dept
(iii) central govt agency
(iv) building contractor
(v) new town development corporation
(vi) statutory body
(vii) teaching position
(viii) pr. pr large/medium/small

68) If you had to leave this office tomorrow are there any of these types of office that you would:

(i) avoid if possible

(ii) favour strongly

69) Why?

*** 70) And where would you look seriously for a job if you had to leave

(i) Edinburgh only
(ii) Scotland only
(iii) Britain only
(iv) anywhere

95

71) Different people seem to want recognition for their work from rather different people:

thinking in termsof the following categories:
a = very important; b = quite important; c = dont mind;
d = not at all important

how important are the following:*

(i) the group you are working with

(ii) senior architects in the office

(iii) architects in the locality

(iv) architects throughout the country/profession

72) What is the policy of this office in publishing names of architects involved in a project?

(i) name partners only

(ii) name senior architects and above

(iii) name job architectm and above

(iv) name everyone

73) And has any project you have been on, been written up in the architectural/technical press?

(i) yes what

(ii) no

74) How important is it to you to be recognised like this?

(i) very important

(ii) quite important

(iii) dont mind either way

75) Thinking in general about the work of architects, some architects seem to see it as a job like any other, some see it as something rather different. How do you see it?

(i) job like any other

(ii) something special

(iii) other

76) Do you think in terms of good and bad architects ? Y N

(i) good

(ii) bad

77) Do you think in terms of good and bad technicians? Y N

(i) good

(ii) bad

78) Two final questions - could you give me an idea of your salary, with reference to the levels outlined on this card?

79) And your age?

Appendix VII

Table 1

General staff sample

Qualified Architects	33
"Unqualified architectural staff"	27
(1) "Failed Architects"	10
(2) Technicians	17
TOTAL STAFF	60

Table 2

Self attributed titles of:

"Failed architects":	Senior Architect	1	
	Senior Assistant	2	
	Architectural Assistant	5	
	Assistant	1	
	nothing formal	1	10
Technicians:	Associate	2	
	Senior Assistant	1	
	Senior Technician	1	
	Architectural Assistant	3	
	Technician	7	
	Architectural draughtsman	1	
	Trainee technician	1	
	Apprentice	1	17

Table 3

The involvement of qualified and unqualified architectural staff in the design inception process - partners' report

Qualification and practice status	
Partner only (qualified)	9
Partner and selected senior staff (qualified)	8
Partner and selected senior staff (qualified and unqualified)	2
Partner and architectural staff (qualified)	1
Partner and staff (qualified and unqualified)	5
TOTAL	25

Table 4

Staff's report of types of work currently undertaken

	Staff qualification			
Type of work	Qualified architect	"Failed architect"	Technician	TOTAL
Client briefing and design only	3	-	-	3
Design and one/ two other areas	13	3	2	18
Limited design and other areas	13	5	6	24
Production information only	1	2	4	7
Production information and other areas	1	-	5	6
Other (general project supervision)	2	-	-	2
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 5

Staff preference for change in work areas

	PREFERENCE FOR INCREASE				PREFERENCE FOR DECREASE			
	Qualified architects	"Failed architects"	Tech-nicians	TOTAL	Qualified architects	"Failed architects"	Tech-nicians	TOTAL
Client briefing	17	5	6	28	-	-	1	1
Design and technical information	1	-	3	4	-	-	-	-
Production information and other areas	4	-	3	7	6	5	3	14
Office and job administration	5	2	2	9	9	-	-	9
Whole project	3	2	-	5	-	-	-	-
Nothing changed	3	1	3	7	14	5	12	31
Other	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	5
TOTAL	33	10	17	60	33	10	17	60

Table 6

Preparedness of staff to delegate work

Type of work to be delegated	Qualification Category: Qualified architect	"Failed architect"	Technician	TOTAL
Drawing (to technicians/juniors)	10	4	7	21
Administration (to clerical staff or Office Manager	6	0	2	8
Drawing and Administration	1	1	0	2
Drawing Administration and Site supervision	7	0	0	7
No delegation	8	4	6	18
Other	1	1	2	4
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 7

Perceptions of staff re, significance of different areas of work

Areas of work:	ACTIVITIES KEY TO ROLE				ACTIVITIES IMPORTANT RE, CAREER			
	Qualified architect	"Failed architect"	Tech-nicians	TOTAL	Qualified architect	"Failed architect"	Tech-nicians	TOTAL
Client briefing/ design inception	12	1	-	13	8	1	1	10
Design and Other areas	8	2	-	10	7	3	2	12
Production Information	-	2	5	7	-	1	1	2
Production Information and other areas	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	1
Other (administration site supervision, contract admin., technical information)	4	1	4	9	10	2	9	21
All areas important	8	4	5	17	8	3	3	14
No reply	1	-	1	2				
TOTAL	33	10	17	60	33	10	17	60

Table 8

Comparative opportunities for work, career and salary for staff with different qualifications as perceived by the staff

Type of Opportunity	Opportunity re WORK				Opportunity re CAREER				Opportunity re SALARIES			
	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total
Opportunity Unqualified & qualified												
Unqualified BETTER opportunity in SOME offices than qualified	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
Unqualified SAME opportunity ALL offices as qualified	1	1	2	4	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	3
Unqualified SAME opportunity in SOME offices as qualified	23	8	12	43	17	6	14	37	25	6	11	42
Unqualified LESS opportunity in ALL offices than qualified	9	1	3	13	16	4	2	22	7	2	2	11
TOTAL	33	10	17	60	33	10	17	60	33	10	17	60

Table 9

Salary levels in relation to qualification

Salary level	Qualified architect	"Failed architect"	Technician	Total
£ - 999	0	1	6	7
1,000 - 1,199	0	0	2	2
1,200 - 1,499	2	3	1	6
1,500 - 1,999	8	1	3	12
2,000 - 2,499	12	2	3	17
2,500 - 2,999	5	1	1	7
3,000 +	4	0	0	4
NR	2	2	1	5
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 10

Partners' report of use of R.I.B.A. grading system

No use made	15
No use made - changed beyond them	1
Yes - used as guide	3
Yes	1
Other	5
TOTAL	25

Table 11

Grading categories used by partners

Partners + staff	8
Partners + associate partner + staff	8
Partner + senior staff	1
Partner + senior architects + job architects etc.	3
Partner alone	2
Other	3
TOTAL	25

Table 12

Staff report of office use of R.I.B.A. responsibility grades

		~~Adjusted~~ %
Used	10	16.7
Not used	24	40.0
DK	19	31.7
No reply	7	11.6
TOTAL	60	100.0

Table 13

Self attributed staff titles grouped by practice

Office No. 0	Section Architect Senior Architect Job architect Architect Assistant Architect Architectural Assistant Senior Technician	Office No. 1	Senior Architect Job architect Assistant to job architect Assistant architect Technician
Office No. 2	Senior Architect Architect Architectural Assistant	Office No. 3	Associate Architectural Assistant Technician
Office No. 4	Senior Architect Senior assistant	Office No. 5	Senior Architect Assistant architect
Office No. 6	Senior Architect Architectural Assistant	Office No. 7	Job architect Senior assistant Architectural assistant
Office No. 8	Technician Senior assistant Architectural Draughtsman	Office No. 9	Associate Apprentice Nothing formal
Office No. 10	Associate Technician Assistant Nothing formal	Office No. 11	Technician Assistant
Office No. 12	Trainee technician	Office No. 13	Assistant architect
Office No. 14	Nothing formal	Office No. 15	Assistant

Table 14a

Staff experience ofresponsibility related to self attributed title:

Self attributed title	Level of responsibility: All wanted	Certain Amount	Definitely not enough	Other	Total
Associate	2	1	0	0	3
Architect	0	0	0	1	1
Senior Architect	5	5	0	1	11
Job Architect	5	0	0	0	5
Senior Assistant	2	3	0	0	5
Senior Technician	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL "Senior staff"	15	9	0	2	26
Other staff	10	16	7	1	34
TOTAL staff	25	25	7	3	60

Table 14b

Staff's reported experience of responsibility

	Qualified architects	"Failed architects"	Technicians	TOTAL
All wanted	13	4	8	25
Certain amount	15	3	7[x]	25
Not enough	2	3	2	7
Promised more soon	2	0	0	2
Other	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 15

Comparison of salary levels of senior staff with rest of staff

Self attributed title	£0 - 1499	£1500- 1999	£2000- 2499	£2500- 2999	£3000+	N.R.	Total
Associate	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
Senior Architect	-	1	4	3	4	-	12
Job Architect	-	2	2	-	-	1	5
Senior Assistant	-	1	3	1	-	-	5
Senior Technician	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL "Senior Staff"	-	4	11	6	4	1	26
TOTAL other staff	15	8	6	1	0	3	34
~~No reply~~	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	15	12	17	7	4	4	60

Table 16

Staff's immediate career plans related to self attributed title

Self attributed title	Another job fixed seriously thinking of moving	Would move for more money & for responsibility	Planning to stay n years	No plans to move	D.K.	Total
Associate	-	1	1	1	-	3
Senior Architect	1	3	2	4[x]	2	12
Job architect	-	-	3	1	1	5
Senior Assistant	1	-	1	3[x]	-	5
Senior Technician	-	-	-	-	1	1
TOTAL "Senior Staff"	2	4	7	9	4	26
Other staff	3	2	13	13	3	34
TOTAL STAFF	5	6	20	22	7	60

[x]One respondent in each cell indicated he had specific hopes for promotion.

Table 17

Staff's immediate career plans

	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total
Another job fixed up	2	0	0	2
Seriously thinking of moving	1	0	2	3
Would move for more responsibility	2	0	1	3
Would move for more money and responsibility	3	0	0	3
Plan to stay for n years	11	6	3	20
No plans to move	8	4	8	20
Expect promotion	2	0	0	2
Not sure	4	0	3	7
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 18

Opportunity of finding new job outside this practice

	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total
Very easy	3	1	4	8
Fairly easy	4	3	8	15
Quite difficult	15	5	2	22
Very difficult	11	1	3	15
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 19

Staff aspirations for partnership related to self attributed title.

Self attributed title	General hopes	No hopes	Other	Total
Associate	2	1	-	3
Senior Architect	9	2	1	12
Job Architect	3	2	-	5
Senior Assistant	3	2	-	5
Senior Technician	1	-	-	1
TOTAL "Senior Staff"	18	7	1	26
Other staff	14	20	0	34
TOTAL	32	27	1	60

Table 20

Staff's general aspiration to become partner.

Level of aspiration	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total
General hopes	21	5	6	32
No hope	11	5	11	27
Other	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 21

Staff's perception of type of opportunity offered by Associate partnership

Assessment	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total
Worthwhile	8	4	5	17
Questionable	19	4	4	27
Don't know	1	-	1	2
Other	5	2	7	14
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 22

Staff's perception of Skills needed as partner: generally.

	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total
Design	2	-	1	3
Management	3	2	4	9
Client attracting ability	5	3	2	10
Design & Management	5	-	3	8
Design & Client attracting ability	-	1	1	2
Design & Management & Client attracting ability	7	2	2	11
Management & client attracting ability	9	2	3	14
All rounder	2	-	1	3
Other	-	-	0	1
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 23

Staff career plans 5 years from time of interview

Situation	Qualified Architects	"Failed Architects"	Technicians	Total
This office - same level	3	1	3	7
This office - higher level	1	2	4	7
This office - partner	2	-	-	2
Other private practice - same level	-	-	1	1
Other private practice - higher level	6	3	2	11
Other private practice - partner	9	1	1	11
Local Authority - higher level	2	-	-	2
Building Contractor - higher level	3	-	2	5
Other/within architecture	5	0	2	7
Outside architecture	2	3	2	7
TOTAL	33	10	17	60

Table 24

Partners'/staff perceptions of office procedure standardisation

Offices in which Partner reported:	Staff perceptions
Office Manual 3	office no. 1 - 7 staff office manual: 1 miscellaneous memos. office no. 3 - 1 staff office manual: 2 in process of developing office no. 9 - 3 staff office manual
Miscellaneous memos 1	office no. 0 - 1 staff manual; 6 miscellaneous memos. 4 in process of developing; 3 no attempt.
In process of developing formalised procedures 2	office no. 2 - 1 staff office manual; 4 miscellaneous memos. 1 staff no attempt. office no 15 - 1 staff no attempt.
No attempts 10	office no. 4 - 3 staff no attempt. 5 - 2 " " 6 - 2 " " 7 - 4 " " 8 - 3 " " 10 - 3 staff no attempt; 1 in process of development. 11 - 3 staff no attempt. 12 - 1 staff miscellaneous memos. 13 - 1 staff no attempt. 14 - 1 staff no attempt.
TOTAL 16	

Table 25a

Staff's attitude to development of standardisation

	(i) Formalization of office procedures		(iii) Formalization of the design process	
		%		%
Reduces freedom	4	6.7	6	10.0
Prefer personal arrangements	2	3.3	-	-
Cuts down freedom but is useful	2	3.3	5	8.3
Tends to be useful discipline, leaving individual freer to concentrate on crucial issues	29	48.3	28	46.7
Definitely useful	8	13.3	14	23.3
Usefulness depends on type of office (useful in large, not small)	13	21.7		
Depends on type of job	2	3.3	7	11.7
TOTAL	60	100.0	60	100.0

Table 25b

Partner's attitude to development of standardisation

	No. of staff for whom partners replying were responsible	
Reduces freedom	0	0%
Useful discipline - freer to concentrate on crucial issues	27	45.0%
Usefulness depends on type of office/job	33	55.0%
TOTAL	60	100%

Table 26

Partner Staff attitude towards standardization of office procedures

Offices in which Partner's attitude		Staff's attitude
Frees staff for more crucial activities/useful 6	Office 0	1 staff tends reduce freedom; 1 useful in some situations. 7 tends to be useful; 3 definitely useful.
	Office 3	2 tends to be useful; 1 definitely useful.
	Office 5	1 tends to be useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 9	1 tends reduce freedom; 1 tends to be useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 10	2 tends to be useful; 1 reduces freedom/useful.
	Office 14	1 tends to reduce freedom.
Useful - Depending on situational factors 10	Office 1	5 tends to be useful; 1 reduces freedom/useful; 2 useful in some situations; 1 other.
	Office 2	4 staff tends to be useful; 1 definitely useful; 1 reduces freedom/useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 4	1 tends to be useful; 1 definitely useful; 1 other.
	Office 6	1 tends reduce freedom; 1 useful in certain situations.
	Office 7	3 tends to be useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 8	1 prefer personalised system; 1 definitely useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 11	2 tends to be useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 12	1 definitely useful.
	Office 13	1 useful in some situations.
	Office 15	1 useful in some situations.
TOTAL 16		

Table 27a

Partners'/Staff perceptions of standardisation of project procedures

Offices in which Partner reported		Staff perceptions
R.I.B.A. Plan of Work basis of practice schemes 4	Practice 0	7 staff R.I.B.A. stages; 4 practice stages; 2 practice check list/ job book; 1 other.
	Practice 3	1 staff R.I.B.A. stages; 1 practice stages; 1 practice job book.
	Practice 6	2 staff R.I.B.A. stages.
	Practice 7	2 staff practice stages; 1 nothing rigorous; 1 other.
(In process of development) 1	Practice 2	1 staff R.I.B.A. stages; 3 practice stages; 2 practice job book.
Another system in operation 3	Practice 1	2 R.I.B.A. stages; 7 practice job book.
	Practice 4	3 practice stages.
	Practice 11	2 practice stages; 1 nothing rigorous.
Other limited system in operation 2	Practice 12	Staff practice stages.
	Practice 15	Staff practice stages.
Nothing rigorous 6	Practice 5	1 staff practice stages. 1 other.
	Practice 8	2 staff practice stages; 1 nothing rigorous.
	Practice 9	1 practice stages; 1 practice job book; 1 nothing rigorous.
	Practice 10	1 R.I.B.A. stages; 1 practice stages; 2 nothing rigorous.
	Practice 13	1 staff nothing rigorous.
	Practice 14	1 staff nothing rigorous.
TOTAL 16		

Table 27b

Partners, in full sample, report use of standardised project procedures

Type of project procedures	
R.I.B.A. Plan of Work/Job Book in entirety	2
R.I.B.A. Plan of Work basis for procedures	6
In process of development	2
Other system	3
Other limited system	5
Nothing rigorous	7
TOTAL	25

Table 28

Partners'/Staff perceptions of standardisation of design details

Offices in which Partner reported		Staff perceptions
Details for particular job 1	Office 12	1 staff no attempts.
In process of developing standard details 7	Office 0	3 staff details for particular job; 8 process of development; 3 no attempts.
	Office 1	6 staff no attempts; 1 process of developing; 1 details for particular job; 1 layouts.
	Office 3	1 details for particular job; 2 process of developing.
	Office 5	2 in process of developing.
	Office 9	1 details for particular job; 1 no attempts; 1 process of developing.
	Office 10	1 details for particular job; 1 process of developing; 1 no attempts; 1 other.
	Office 11	2 in process of developing; 1 no attempts.
No attempts 8	Office 2	4 staff no attempts; 2 in process of developing.
	Office 4	2 staff no attempts; in in process of developing.
	Office 6	1 staff no attempts; 1 in process of developing.
	Office 7	3 staff no attempts; 1 in process of developing.
	Office 8	1 staff no attempts; 2 in process of developing.
	Office 13	1 staff no attempts.
	Office 14	1 staff no attempts.
	Office 15	1 staff no attempts.
TOTAL 16		

Table 29

Partners'/staff attitudes towards standardisation of detail design work

Office in which Partners' attitudes		Staffs' attitudes
Frees staff for more crucial activities/useful 6	Office 0	6 tends to be useful; 4 definitely useful; 1 reduces freedom/useful; 2 useful in some situations.
	Office 3	1 tends to be useful; 2 definitely useful.
	Office 5	2 tends to be useful.
	Office 9	1 tends to be useful; 1 reduces freedom/useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 10	1 tends to be useful; 3 definitely useful.
	Office 14	1 reduces freedom.
Useful-depending on situational factors 10	Office 1	2 reduces freedom; 6 tends to be useful; 1 definitely useful.
	Office 2	1 reduces freedom; 3 tends to be useful; 2 definitely useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 4	1 reduces freedom/useful; 2 useful in some situations.
	Office 6	1 definitely useful; 1 reduces freedom/useful.
	Office 7	3 tends to be useful; 1 definitely useful.
	Office 8	2 tends to be useful.
	Office 11	1 tends to be useful; 1 definitely useful; 1 useful in some situations.
	Office 12	1 reduces freedom.
	Office 13	1 reduces freedom/useful.
	Office 15	1 tends to be useful.
TOTAL 16		

Table 30

Practice size Total Architectural Staff	% Qualified Staff 1968 R.I.B.A. National PP Census	1969 Local PP Sample
1 - 2	78.7	100
3 - 5	51.2	1 pr = 100 2 " = 75 - 99 2 " = 50 - 75 1 " = - 44
6 - 10	45.7	4 pr = 50 - 74 1 pr = - 49
11 - 30	44.4	1 pr = 75+ 4 " = 50 - 74 4 " = - 49
31 +	46.5	3 pr = 50 - 74

Table 31

Partners' perceptions of their main functions as partners

Designer	2
Co-ordinator	6
Combination designer/ co-ordinator	14
Other	3
TOTAL	25

APPENDIX VIII

Practice Profile

Most practices in the sample fell into the middle size categories, 6 had 3-5 architectural staff (this includes qualified and unqualified), 5 had 6-10 and another 5 had 11-15 architectural staff. Comparing the staff figures I collected with the most recent R.I.B.A. figures (1968), 17 practices had stayed in the same size category, 5 rising and 3 falling a category. Only a quarter of the practices had less than 50% fully qualified architects, while half the practices had between 50-74% of staff fully qualified architecturally, the final quarter of the sample had over 75% qualified staff. (1) Comparing these regional findings with the R.I.B.A.'s latest figures, the greater proportion of qualified staff holds across all size categories. In nearly half of the practices it was reported that these sorts of proportions had been stable within the last two years, while 5 practices reported an increase in the proportion of fully qualified staff and 8 practices ~~the~~ an increase in architectural staff without full architectural qualifications - usually the larger practices.

Only one office in the largest size category was currently employing other professional engineers and quantity surveyors; one office in the same size category had employed structural engineers in the recent past. (The abandonment of a policy currently highly favoured by the R.I.B.A. was explained, by a partner who was himself highly involved in national R.I.B.A. affairs, in terms of the failure of a new or dead end career ladder to attract structural engineers of a high enough calibre.) Over a third of the offices were employing clerks of works to specialise in site supervision - the larger the practice the more likely this was.

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(1) Since the accuracy of some of the staff figures was open to question (cf the staff turnover problem) it seemed more appropriate to assess proportions of qualified/ unqualified staff in terms of these broader categories.

On the administrative side, all but three offices employed full time secretarial help. Three offices reported full time librarians apart from secretarial staff who often took on this function on a part time basis. Only one office had formally created the position of office manager, in others a senior secretary was referred to in similar terms. A number of offices were encouraging secretarial staff to become "clerks" to certain projects.

Although I had tried to confine the sample to independent offices, two turned out to be head offices with other branch offices, two were themselves branch offices. None reported that they had taken up the R.I.B.A.'s suggestion to join a multi-disciplinary "consortium" and only one had taken up the suggestion offorming a "group" of architectural practices. One third of the offices reported that the majority of their clients were in the public sector - central or local government departments, nationalised industries, health service, etc. - another third indicated they were mixed between public and private clients, the final third working mostly for private clients. The majority of private clients were private industry, only two practices working mainly for private individuals or committees. As for the amount of industrialised or system building that the practices undertook; 6 practices reported that their work was all traditional construction while 4 said they used half systems, half traditional forms; the majority (14) indicated that they used some systems, but worked mainly with traditional constructional techniques and materials.

Staff profile

Of the 60 staff interviewed about a third were working on only one project or stage of work, while another third were on between two and five projects. Less than a fifth were on projects valued under £100,000. Over half reported that they were directly responsible to a partner and nearly half were responsible /

responsible for no other staff; the responsibility of the rest depended on the build up and break up of working groups. Very few (5%) did much private work and of these most said it was for friends rather than work for architectural competitions.

With almost all the sample (93%) under 40 years and half in their thirties, very few of them indicated that they had trained through a university (5.1%) About a third trained full time at art college, another third part full time, part part time and just under a third entirely part time. Nearly two thirds said they had not specialised at all during training. An overwhelming majority had had their first office experience in private practice (86.7%) and nearly three quarters said they had never been out of the private practice sector. Less than a quarter of the respondents had been in one office only (23.4%), about half had been in three offices since finals (46.7%), only 15% had been in more than four offices. In their present office, half said they had been there less than four years, while only 10% indicated they had stayed longer than 10 years. In considering future work preferences the highest proportion favoured the idea of the medium sized private practice (46.7%) followed by a quarter in favour of the small private practice, most respondents explained their preferences in terms of higher levels of responsibility in such offices. At the time of interview about 10% were earning less than £1,000, 25% earning less than £1,500, and about a half less than £2,000, with about 40% earning between £2-3,000. With regard to wider professional recognition through the publication of work in professional journals, less than a fifth thought this was very important to them (18.5%), just over a third indicating it was quite important (36.7%), while just over 40% said they did not mind.

Over three quarters (81.4%) of the respondents had

fathers who were in non-manual occupations when they started their architectural training, a quarter of them being in higher professional or managerial occupations. (1)

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(1) cf Classification used by J. Goldthorpe & D. Lockwood in The Affluent Worker in the British Class Structure, Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 196-7.

APPENDIX IX

Familiarisation with a work world

Apart from taking every opportunity to meet and talk with architects or architectural students informally, I did get involved in one or two more formally organised ventures to learn more about the occupation. I was able to have discussions with the heads of several architectural schools who subsequently allowed me to approach a number of staff and students. In one school I was fortunate enough to be able to follow the week's full time course preparing young architects for their third and final professional examination, the Professional Practice examination. In recent years, as a glance at examination papers demonstrates, the emphasis has moved from the legally prescribed relations between different personnel involved in the building field to a more flexible management oriented approach.

In the Architecture Research Unit of Edinburgh University I was able to follow the progress of a particular project for some months, by attending the regular team discussion sessions, and meeting the architects involved more informally. To gain some impression of the client's point of view I was able to sit in on the meetings of a voluntary committee which was raising funds for a particular building project; from the earliest stages the potential architects were incorporated into these meetings.

APPENDIX X

The Profession's fluctuating work load.

(1) 1959 - 63

(2) 1964 - 68

FIG.I ANALYSIS, BY TYPE OF BUILDING, OF NEW COMMISSIONS FOR PRIVATE ARCHITECTS

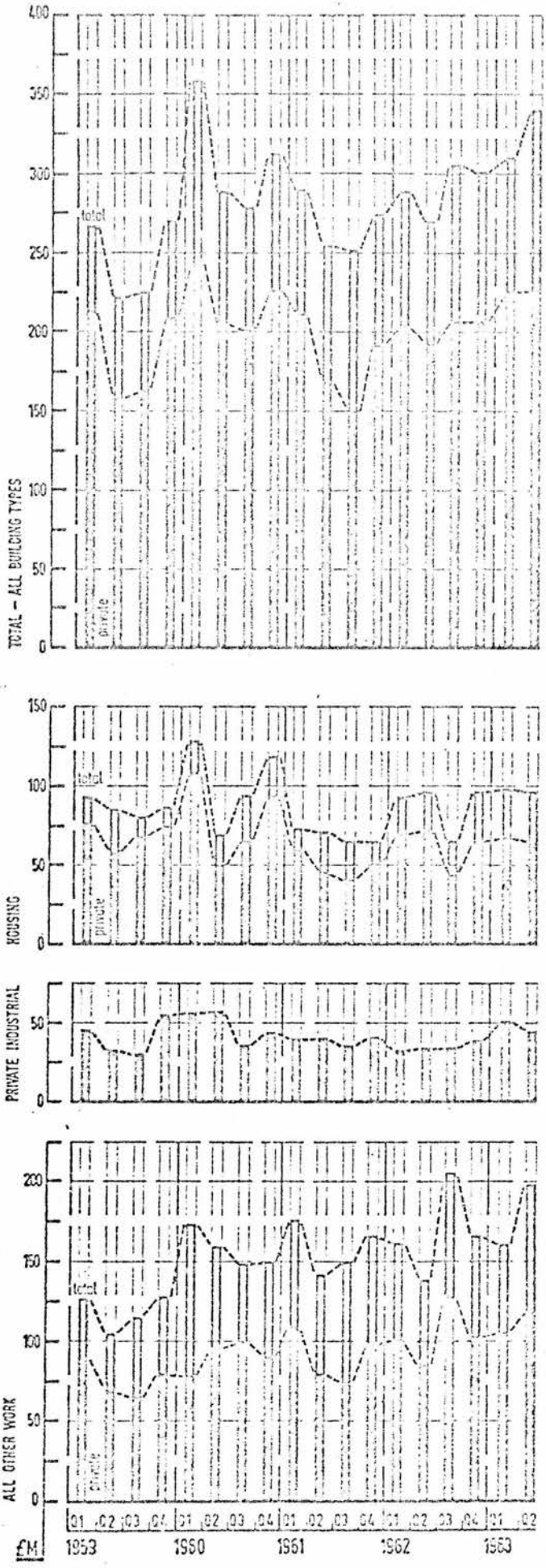
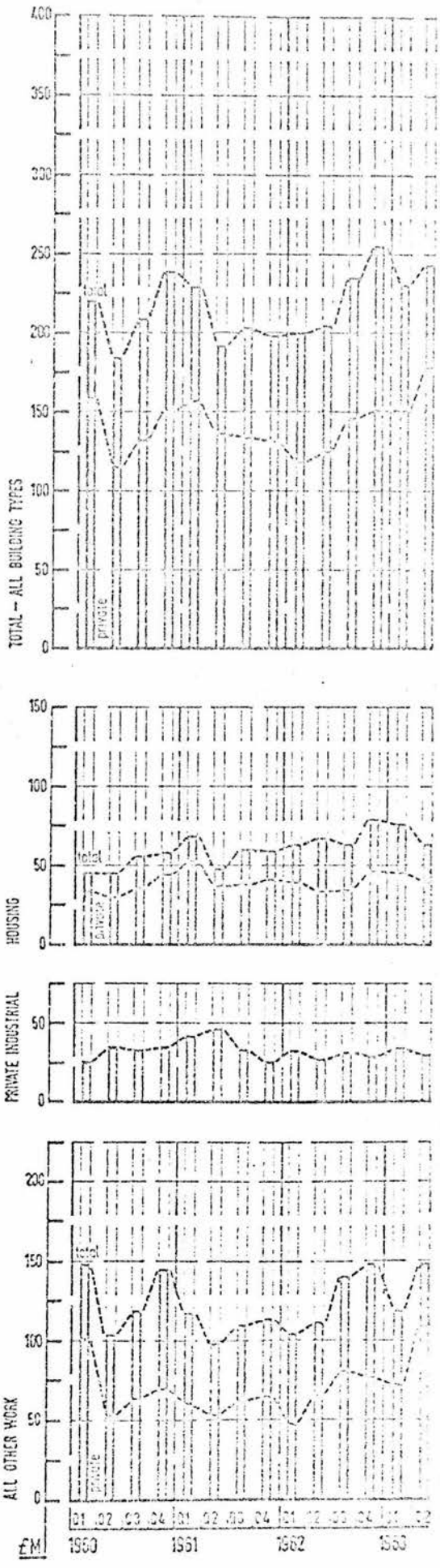
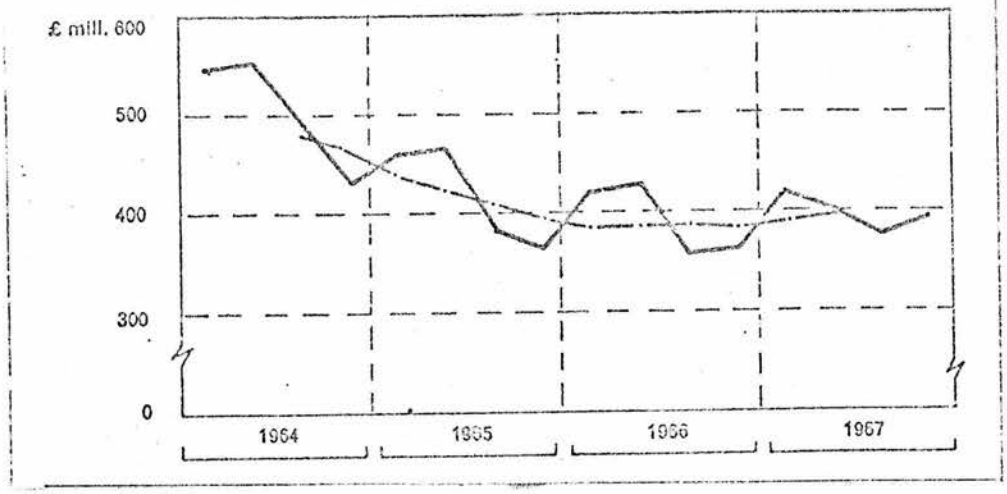


FIG.II ANALYSIS, BY TYPE OF BUILDING, OF WORK FOR PRIVATE ARCHITECTS ENTERING WORKING DRAWINGS STAGE



1 Actual figures for commissions and trend (based on 1958 prices)



Source : RIBAJ. May 1968 p 203

Table 1 Estimated value of new work for which private architects were appointed

	1965 £ million	% Change over previous quarter	% Change over same quarter of 1964	1966 £ million	% Change over previous quarter	% Change over same quarter of 1965	1967 £ million	Change over previous quarter	% Change over same quarter of 1966
1st quarter	536	+ 5.1	−12.9	498	+13.2	−7.1	522	+16.5	+ 4.8
2nd quarter	542	+ 1.1	−14.1	517	+ 3.8	−4.6	506	− 3.1	− 2.1
3rd quarter	461	−14.9	−19.8	433	−16.2	−6.1	483	− 4.5	+11.5
4th quarter	440	− 4.6	−13.7	448	+ 3.5	+1.8	504	+ 4.3	+12.5
Annual Total	1,927*			1,975*			2,025*		

* The total for the year has been estimated separately and the reliability has thus increased; it will not agree with the sum of the individual quarterly figures

Source : RIBAJ May 1968 p.203

New Commissions at Constant (1958) Prices

Year \ Quarter	1	2	3	4
1968	409	403	400	392
1969	376	387	319	316
1970	364	353	346	351
1971	356	391	416	416

Source : RIBA Intelligence Unit 1972.

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	PREDOMINANT ARCHITECTURAL STYLES	ASSOCIATIONAL ACTIVITY (London)	ASSOCIATIONAL ACTIVITY (Provincial)	EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY	MOVES TOWARDS REGISTRATION
1830	CLASSICAL	1831 Architectural Society →		→ Architectural Society	
1835		1835 Institute of British Architects	1835 Liverpool 1836 Manchester		
1840	GOTHIC	1839 I.B.A. receives Royal Charter	1839 Institute of Architects of Ireland 1840 Institute of Architects of Scotland		
1845		1842 Association of Architectural Draughtsmen →		1841 Architectural Society merged with R.I.B.A. Association of Architectural Draughtsmen.	
1850	NEO	1847 Architectural Association →	1848 Liverpool Architectural Society 1850 Bristol Society of Architects	→ Architectural Association	
1855	CLASSICAL			1855	
1860	BATTLE OF THE STYLES		1858 Northern Architectural Association	"The Diploma Issue"	
	D		1863 Architectural Alliance	1863	

1865

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1870 T

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1871 R.I.B.A. General Conference of Architects

1875

1880

1882 First compulsory examination of Associate Membership of R.I.B.A.

1884 Society of Architects

Society of Architects

1885

1887 Sheffield Society of Architects & Surveyors

1889 R.I.B.A. enabled to make "Alliances" with provincial Associations

1889 Architects' Registration Bill unsuccessful. Memorialists letter to The Times.

1890

1900

MEDLAY OF REVIVALIST STYLES

MODERN FUNCTIONALIST

1906 Board of Architectural Education

Registration becomes official R.I.B.A. policy.

1925 Societies formed to fight bills.

1931 First } Registration

1938 Second } Act